The Changing Maori

by

FELIX M. KEESING

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THE CHANGING MAORI

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YOUNG MAORIDOM SITS AT THE FEET
OF THE *PAKEHA*.

Memoirs of the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, Volume 4.

The Changing Maori

BY

FELIX M. KEESING, M.A.

FIRST-CLASS HONOURS IN EDUCATION
DIPLOMA IN JOURNALISM
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DEDICATION

To the Maori Race, fighting valiantly to find a new life and a purpose for living; especially to the rising generation of youth in whose hand lies the destiny of Maoridom for all time, this study is dedicated.

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FOREWORD.

Students of the New Zealand University are taking a deeper interest in the history and traditions of their native land, as is evidenced by the increasing number that write theses on New Zealand, more particularly Maori subjects. I have been privileged to read five or six of these, and can vouch for their excellence in style, arrangement, and matter. But the study by Mr. Keesing, here extended into a Memoir, is easily the most interesting, and shows the greatest amount of research in a field where information was scanty and scattered, and where only a heart-felt anxiety for the fortunes of the Maori race sustained the writer in the collection and co-ordination of data. Those of us who took part in the formation and development of the Te Aute Students' Association, who later became identified with the Maori Youth Movement, generally referred to as the "Young Maori Party," and who are only now witnessing the fulfilment of some of our aims and ideals, will be amazed at Mr. Keesing's knowledge and penetration. The best compliment we can pay him is to say that he has written with the mastery and vision of one who has watched from a prominence the unfolding of this latter-day experiment in cultural adaptation.

A. T. NGATA.

Parliament Buildings,
Wellington,
July, 1928.

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PREFACE.

The study of the Maori people of New Zealand here presented is a thoroughly revised version of a "thesis" prepared for the honours M.A. Examination in Education of the University of New Zealand, under the title of "The Maori, 1925—and after."

In the search for some special aspect of Maori educational problems, in which the writer has long been interested as a result of contact with and admiration for the race, there appeared to be an amazing lack of literature and scientific knowledge concerning the present position of Maoridom. True, students of ethnology and anthropology have been busy in the field putting into writing the passing culture of old. Also very full records exist dealing with the historical interaction of Maori and *Pakeha* (white man) up to the end of the nineteenth century. The Church is active. Schools have been opened even in the most remote districts. Also the practical native problems are being dealt with by more or less self-contained State departments—Native, Health, Justice, and so on—and by Royal Commissions appointed as particular occasion requires. Again, people of all interests view various aspects of present conditions: on the white side, teachers, churchmen, settlers, officials, politicians; on the native side, chiefs, religious leaders, in fact one could say every man, woman and child. But there has been little attempt to co-ordinate and weigh these diverse opinions, ideals, needs, aspirations, difficulties, remedies, antagonisms, in relation to the sociological and psychological tendencies which must necessarily underlie the transition from ancient to modern manner of life.

The Maori problem has never been presented in writing apart from formal statistical reports and surveys, and certain fragmentary book-chapters and papers dealing with general facts or specialised aspects. A typical statement

taken from one of these shows how real are the problems of adaptation:

> "The Maori is confronted with a new social system, the spirit of which he only dimly understands; baffled by the definite dogmas of a new religion alien to the mystical genius of his race; conquered by the *Pakeha* in war, and still more hopelessly beaten in the rivalries of peace; and he vaguely realises that his old ideals are slipping from him, that he is losing the virtues of the conquered race and acquiring only the vices of the conquering; and foresees, with the instinctive pessimism of a highly imaginative temperament, his own posterity dying off the face of the earth." (11. i.e. reference to bibliography at end.)

While every clause and phrase seems to provoke the question: "Why?", little attempt has been made so far to give an adequate answer. For the writer to enter the underground region of the transition, so meagrely explored, to examine any particular section, seemed merely to risk looking foolish. Yet the need is urgent from every aspect, and in the interests of a race which he has learned to respect and appreciate, he has dared to take his knowledge into his hands and plunge boldly downwards.

The "thesis" in its original form was shaped to no particular preconceived plan. In the months of accumulating and pondering the data, the subject-matter of the survey gradually became defined, and the order adopted emerged of itself as the natural way to express the facts. Actually the statement of the "thesis" or proposition to be argued did not become full and clear till a few days before the writer laid down his pen. Its formal terms were set forth as follows: "That the present is a crucial period in the transition of the Maori from ancient to modern manner of life, and that the very existence and future development of the race depends upon immediate re-organisation and co-ordination of the forces both white and Maori now operating to solve the problems of past and present, this in relation to some conscious end of development."

In the revision of the work, both the subject-matter and the order have been in the main retained, though a considerable amount of new data has been incorporated—this both to bring the facts up to date, and to present new angles of the subject or amend statements formerly made. The writer is grateful for the expressions of encouragement

that have come from those competent to judge the study, and it is in response to their requests that it is offered to the wider circle of those interested in the welfare and progress of the Maori people.

Special thanks are due to the Board of Maori Ethnological Research and to the Maori Purposes Fund Control Board for their offer to publish the manuscript; to Sir Apirana Ngata, M.P., M.A., LL.B., who not only showed keen interest in the work and in the midst of a busy Parliamentary session took time to offer very thorough critical suggestions for its revision, but also consented to contribute a foreword; to Dr. J. B. Condliffe, Research Director of the Institute of Pacific Relations, for his continual personal help and enthusiasm; to Dr. A. B. Fitt, Professor of Education at Auckland University College, under whose guidance the writer read for Honours; to the Government Publicity Officer, the Director of the Dominion Museum, and the proprietors of the *Auckland Weekly News* for help in assembling photographs and the right to publish them; and to many others, both *Pakeha* and Maori, who have assisted in the compilation of the subject-matter and in the friendly criticism of the original manuscript. Not least are thanks due to the printers and engravers of the material here presented, for their interest and careful workmanship.

It is realised well that the analysis must be limited and imperfect, being confined by space and by the changing experience of a single individual. However, if the importance of future more exact exploration is shown, as well as the richness of the field to be explored by students of all interests, the purpose will be well achieved.

—F. M. K.

Auckland,
New Zealand,
1928.

NOTE.

(a) A small vocabulary of native words, now practically adopted into the colloquial language of New Zealand, and used considerably in the survey, could well be included here. The chief are:

Pakeha: stranger, white man; adj. *pakeha,* white.
tapu: sacred, pertaining to spiritual things.
tohunga: priest or adept.
mana: personal influence or power.
pa: fortified village; commonly used for native settlement.

Where otherwise the Maori language is used, a translation will be given.

(b) Sources of all quotations will be found by referring, through the numbers following them, to the bibliography.

INTRODUCTION.

What of the Maori?

YONDER stands a rugged, bush-clad mountain peak towering aloof from the surrounding country. To the traveller, gazing from the train window as he passes by, it is but an interesting landmark. Yet to many folk this peak has been more than a mere rise in the earth's surface. For in ancient times it was, if legend be true, a living being, father of other mountains, and very sacred indeed. However, when men arrived in New Zealand, "he" had already reached a ripe old age, and, as "old man" mountains usually do, had become of a very settled and placid disposition.

It was some centuries ago that a group of Polynesian rovers drew up their sea-scarred canoe to its final resting place in his shelter, and, giving thanks to their gods for this new land of promise, settled down to people the fertile valleys and river-banks. For many generations the mountain was a constant factor in their daily lives; they would watch the sun labour up his mist-streaming flanks in the morning, and the moon-glow silhouette his black brow at night; the lightning playing around his shoulders was full of dread portent; his dim vales were peopled with the fairy folk, the *patupaiarehe,* who loved to lure and lose the venturesome mortal; his forests teemed with bird-life ready for spearer and snarer; his dark cataract pools with toothsome eels; on his rugged foothills were building sites for impregnable fortresses. Many generations of brown-skinned folk played and feasted, cultivated their crops, loved, fought, and died beneath his shadow. Plain and forest,

swamp and stream, hill and coast became mellowed with memories, history, tradition.

> "They loved the land
> With all the love intense a Maori feels
> For childhood's home! The hist'ry of their tribe
> Was written there on every rock and hill
> That sentinelled the scene, for these had known
> Their deeds of prowess and their fathers' deeds
> Of valour! And the caverns held the bones
> Of those from whom they'd sprung. Their legends wild
> And weird traditions chained them to the place."(18)

The roving past sank into oblivion, became a dim racial reminiscence—here was home, the social heritage, the sacred dwelling-place of the Maori people for ever . . .

Then at last came strangers from across the sea, bringing with them a restless, resistless force: Civilization. Explorers, traders, adventurers, missionaries, soldiers, colonists, all pressed welcome or unwelcome into the ancestral lands, bringing inevitable conflict and change. And now a century and a half have passed.

Above still stands aloof the bush-clad bulk of the mountain. But all around, the older order has had to give way to the new. Here is the gleaming metal of a railway track; an European township stands on the riverbank there, its shops, post-office, churches, school, picture-shows, hotels, motor-cars, wireless aerials, all symbols of the white man's dominance. Away to the mountain flanks stretch fertile farm-lands, fenced, dotted with homesteads, and rich in imported stock, crops, and trees—these no longer the possession of the brown folk of old, but of *pakeha* farmers and settlers, now full owners of the soil. Gone are the forests before axe and fire; reclaimed are many swamps into pasture lands; vanished are the fairy-folk before reality; forgotten are the treasured significances and historical associations of hill, and stream, and valley; deserted are the bracken-grown terraces of the hill forts; desecrated or lost the burial places. The plough passes over the sites of once thriving settlements, turning up ghost-haunted relics of a past now gone forever. The change has been rapid in the shadow of our mountain. Even he himself has suffered in the transition—not physically so much, though a rough track has been hacked up his flank and surveyors have placed a trig-station on his crown: rather in *mana,* in prestige.

To-day he is but a mountain to the white man, useless for cultivation and hence tolerated as a necessary encumbrance. Perhaps some day a scoria pit will yawn in his side, or a motor road be cut to his summit for the view . . .

And what of the Maori people whose heritage has thus been transformed by the onward march of civilization? What place has the Maori in the new order? Perhaps we might go up into a sheltered river valley at the foot of our "old man" mountain. The mud track winds among maize and potato patches in which some native women are at work, up past paddocks where cattle and horses are grazing, and finishes before a scattered group of ramshackle sawn-timber huts, where clothes flutter, pigs root, dogs bark, and some groups of dusky infants eye shyly our approach. That large shed with carved gable boards will be the meeting house, and the more pretentious bungalow yonder the home of the chief. Here, on this remnant of the ancestral lands, we may find some of those whom we seek.

"*Tena Koutou!* Good day to you all! You're strangers here?" may ask some wrinkled old *wahine,* pipe in hand, and bright coloured scarf over head.

"Yes. We would speak with your chief."

While we are waiting for him to put on his boots and come, we may well reflect upon the old woman's greeting. "Strangers here!" It would rather seem that in these times, even in this secluded place, you and your people, Mrs. Hori or Rangi or whatever your name be, are now the strangers here! Here, even on your historical domain, with high over yonder the great blue-green mountain in whose topmost gullies a few mist-streamers are still loitering! It would seem that there is no place for you in the throb and bustle and complexity of the white man's civilization. Even as those last lingering mist-clouds, sole reminder of the great white night-cap that has covered the mountain bulk all night through, are dissolving before the blaze of the new day, so are your people surely a remnant, and so seemingly must your people vanish.

But here is the grey-haired, time-scarred chief advancing to meet us. After the preliminaries of hospitality we put our question to him: "What of the Maori in the new order?"

If we have his confidence he may well show us the greatness of the ancient past, and tell of the mighty deeds of his ancestors. Then, coming to the story of the white man's influence, his tale would be one of stress, of misunderstandings, of unequal fight, of vanishing lands, probably of tragedy. We may not be able to penetrate to the full his meanings and viewpoint, but at least we would see the outward results by looking at the scene around us. Then when the cup of bitterness has been poured out even to the dregs, the old man may relapse into silence awhile. Surely then, that last wisp of mist now fading far above seems a sure portent! At last perhaps his head will be lifted up, and the light of vision kindle in his brown eyes.

"*Pakeha* friends," he will say, "I have shown you the past. The present, too, you have seen in part. You may come to know the rest of it as you view my people to-day, not only in settlements such as this, but also out working in yonder farmlands, in townships and cities, or still isolated in the bush fastnesses. Our race to-day is surely wandering in strange and difficult paths, is broken and crushed even unto death. To many of us there is no hope, no future, all is darkness and the leap into the *Reinga,* the land of spirits . . But to me there is hope, there is a possible way into light and life! Friends, I believe there can be a future for my people, scattered though they be and divided in all parts of this land that once was ours! Come, I will show you . . ."

Then under his guidance we pass through the settlement, past the tiny church in the trees, to a building surrounded by a neat garden, with flagstaff in front and shelter-sheds on either side—a school. From within come the noise of youngsters at work—a white teacher's voice—eager replies. The old man breaks in beside us:

"*Pakeha* visitors, you ask me, 'What of the Maori?' Here is my answer to you. In the hands of our children lies the future. We as parents have sought to give them all we can from the ancient greatness of our race: a pride in their blood, and some knowledge of our mighty heritage. Now do we send them forth into the school-room, the college, into the highways and byways of your civilization in their youth, that they may learn the secret of *pakeha* greatness, the worthwhile, life-giving things that we know must lie therein. Thither we cannot lead them far. I myself can

Photo. by N.Z. Govt. Publicity.

A *PA* OF OLDEN TIMES.

Photo. by Dominion Museum.

COOKING IN A STEAM-HOLE, ROTORUA.

but live and die in the ways of my fathers. But these, our sons and daughters, we must entrust to your people. In them is the destiny of our race, in the new order, to be made or marred. My friends, see they are led into safer and happier paths than we have travelled! See they perish not as many of us have done. Let them not be strangers in the only land they know! The future of the Maori people is in the hands of the *Pakeha* in the persons of these little ones!"

* * *

What of the Maori? In this, our first glimpse into past, present, and future of Maoridom, something of the problem and its urgency has surely been sensed. The subject clearly is no dry-as-dust topic to be presented in statistics or by vague theorisings, but a living, pulsating study of human personality. It is a drama of race in which a section of human kind is engaged in a struggle to prove its right and fitness to live and maintain a place for itself and its children on the face of the earth.

Having glimpsed our problem from the tiny region of "old man" mountain, it will now be helpful to view it fleetingly in its widest possible aspect—in fact as an unfolding story played upon the whole stage of human development. Thus from the eminence of the Twentieth Century A.D. it is possible to look back, even beyond the period of written history, and to view this whole racial drama in changing scenes, lying at vastly different times, and in lands almost as far apart as earth allows.

We may start at the very dawn of civilization. It would seem that, out of the restless stirrings of peoples in Western Asia and the Mediterranean basin, there emerged a stock, driven whether by pressure of circumstances, family dissensions, or the wanderlust, we cannot now determine, to migrate eastward to the Pacific Shores, and so out at last into the scattered islands. Hardy, roving, adventurous voyagers were these people, and the greatness of their one-time culture men of science are only now beginning to reveal. Centuries passed in the history of mankind. Seemingly they came to lose the roaming urge that drove them to range the great Pacific basin from west to east, north to south. The languor of the tropics, the admixture with less energetic stocks, a lack of environmental stress

brought self-sufficiency, even a decadence the seriousness of which may be glimpsed from the ruins and cultural fragments still to be found throughout the islands and even on the coasts of Asia and America. With decadence came isolation, and gradually these descendants of a wandering people came to know nothing of a world outside their island homes save what was vaguely hinted at in tribal lore and legend . . .

Meantime their distant stay-at-home relatives came to call the small areas of their venture the World, *terra cognita*. History dawned; Egypt, Persia, Greece, Israel, Rome flourished and passed away. Then, roving at last in their turn, came Europeans into the vast Pacific area, this "New World" that is so old, bringing with them a rapidly developing civilization. Ships with white wings were followed by steam-propelled vessels, laden with the commerce and culture of progress.

So have met again, in due time and on the vast world stage, these peoples long separated, in a dramatic clash of cultures ancient and modern. The stagnating island descendant of roaming Stone Age man faces destiny in the person of the aggressively civilized descendant of his one-time brethren. So far we can picture our drama, and can dimly sense the gulf created through the ages. What is the result?

It is clear that in many parts of the Pacific the curtain is already falling on a *finale* of tragedy, all the more sad because little understood and little intended. The child-folk of the South Seas are passing away or else being absorbed into immigrant stocks both Occidental and Oriental, overwhelmed in the struggle to "grow up," in the battle of existence. The ruthless law of "survival of the fittest" is as yet but dimly overshadowed by the far more fundamental law for human relationships, that of "love thy neighbour." What then of the Maori people of New Zealand, that great and most virile section of the Polynesian folk? The rigorous conditions of life in a temperate climate and rugged land certainly had developed a vitality and adaptability quite unique among primitive peoples. However, the shock of transition has probably been far greater, more complete, and more complex in New Zealand than in any other part of the Pacific Islands, owing to the peculiar geographical

and historical conditions of its development. To-day, there are twenty-one white people in the Dominion to every one Maori!

* * *

Long ago, the *moa*, that giant wingless bird which once roamed the forest lands of Aotearoa, passed away, unable to survive before the brain-equipped folk whose descendants are the Maori of to-day. A century and a half ago, Captain Cook landed, the herald of the new order. Already with the introduction of animal, insect, bird, and plant life from overseas and the passing of the forests before axe and fire, much of the once teeming native flora and fauna has already died out or is tending to die out, unable to survive the invasion.

In the changing environment of human relationships too, the Maori race has had to adapt itself inevitably to the new life which has steadily been superimposed upon the old—with no alternatives other than extinction "even as the *moa*," or at best a partial absorption. For the million and a half white people who have poured into this younger Britain seeking to develop its resources and their own fortunes have paused little to weigh the effects upon the Maori of this rapid transition from savage to modern conditions. Certainly the invaders have advanced a step from those times when a simple expedient would have been to exterminate in war or to enslave the original owners of the country. If the early tradition of the land is correct, New Zealand has been witness of more than one such conquest in the course of its populating by the canoe-voyagers. But an aggressive penetration by a complex and all-embracing culture, backed by the urge and restless energy of the European, has presented a subtle front unfamiliar to this warrior people. "The peace of the white man is more to be dreaded than his war:" so has said a Maori, and the bitter truth of this has been apparent throughout these decades of interaction between the races. To a large extent the history of the development of New Zealand has been a history of their epic struggle. Within a handful of generations, the Maori has sought to rise through all the levels of culture and social organisation which have been surmounted by humanity only through long ages of striving and experiment. What, then, of the Maori to-day?

The problem is worth studying. To anyone with imagination there is a gripping romance in the theme that appeals to human sympathies. All New Zealanders cherish in some measure the contribution that the Maori has made in the building of a "Maoriland" tradition and spirit. The lore, art, song, dance and story of ancient days lend a picturesque background to the development of this new nation of the South Seas. In literature, on stamps, through the famous *haka* dances, on the sports field, and at many points where the Dominion touches the outside world, the Maori comes into his own. However, it would seem too true to-day that only the Maori things of the past are familiar, while the Maori things of the present are forgotten, unnoticed, disregarded. Yet those who will bear with the writer through the pages that follow will find that, whatever else be lacking, it will not be a thrilling theme, a heart-stirring romance. And, though the direct purpose of this survey is to reveal facts and to analyse them—usually a dry business indeed—it is hoped that the spirit of the subject has not been too formalised and compressed to grip the sympathy of readers. Certainly it is a virgin field that offers a vast scope for literature, poetry, art, and music distinctively New Zealand.

But apart from the romance of the theme—a side that will not appeal to everyone—there is a reason for understanding the Maori of to-day that has always appealed to thoughtful men and women. It is that of the humanitarian duty owed by the *Pakeha*, the newcomer, to the race he has displaced. The Maori did not ask the white man to come to New Zealand. Now that he has come, he must by the laws of common humanity, give the Maori as far as possible a square deal. The race has been battling for very life. In this struggle against racial extinction, it is only to the white man, to civilized intelligent people, that he can turn for guidance and help. If there is a native problem still, white people should know it. Of course, many are the casual opinions offered for the solution of any troubles of the Maori: make him work; teach him to think and behave like a white man; make laws to protect him; or even, allow him to die out as quickly as possible, with due anaesthetics to render death painless. But the destiny of a fine race, which, though brown-skinned and hard to understand,

may yet have some contribution to make to the life of the new nation and of a world increasingly harassed by problems of racial adjustment, cannot and dare not be settled on a basis of casual opinion, let alone of happy-go-lucky *laissez faire*. Therefore it is a duty that the Maori should be studied, and where possible aided in his struggle for adjustment. Certainly it is true that in the busy life of the young nation, not many people have the time or opportunity to contact very closely with Maoridom to-day, or are able to render practical service. Maori questions are for the most part remote—the concern of government officials, native school teachers, missionaries. The actual facts, and the meanings of those facts are not practical issues. But if it should be true that the native people are at a crucial stage in their transition from ancient to modern manner of life, with tragic extinction as a looming possibility the consummation of which would be a reproach for ever on the hearts of the New Zealand people, then it is surely our duty to know the issues, and at least see that the help is given.

To those who cannot be moved by the appeal of romance or of duty, there can be arrayed the appeal of hard facts to arouse interest in the welfare of the Maori race. Thus from the viewpoint of national resources and prosperity: it is a fact that the Maori people still own 4,422,046 acres of land in this country, or some 70 acres per head.* Should their numbers decrease, this land, its rents, or its purchase price is theirs, one might say, to the last man. The economic position of the Dominion is affected vitally according as this land is utilised to produce richly, or is allowed to lie idle or operated wastefully—an aspect of Maori problems. Again, considerable sums of money, public money, are spent and will in future be spent on the schooling of native children and on the administration of Government Departments dealing with the native—the response of the Maori to these efforts is surely an important issue. These and a thousand other facts make it imperative that the present condition of Maoridom should be thoroughly studied, quite apart from philanthropic motives.

* It is to be noted however that a very large proportion of this is unfit for settlement or farming purposes at present. This will be referred to more fully later.

Further, it must be remembered that the welfare of the Maori race is not merely an affair internal to New Zealand. It is a matter in which the whole world is interested. Thus an Australian newspaper says:

> "The progress of the Maori people at the southern door of the Pacific holds no small significance at the commencement of an era in which the jostle of races around that fateful Ocean bids fair to reshape the history of civilization."

Already the scientists of other countries, busy at studying the intercourse of peoples in this new world, are turning to New Zealand with intense interest in the progress of this experiment in racial interaction. It might almost be said that these southern islands, cut off by vast stretches of water, have been a perfect laboratory in which for a century and a half a great sociological problem has been working out. The result of the coming together of the highly organised Western civilization with such a race as the Maori, differing in colour, virile, and possessing a characteristic if primitive culture; especially the practical problems involved as the races seek to live side by side, have a deep significance in this century of clashing cultures and races. It would be humiliating indeed for the people of New Zealand to have to confess that little scientific information is forthcoming concerning the Maori people of to-day. True, full data could be given concerning the ancient life and the history up to the end of last century. But it is the Maori of to-day, the Maori-*Pakeha* relationships of the present that are the vital issues. Certainly there is an urgent need for those intellectually equipped for the task to plunge into the study of native problems, economic, sociological, educational, and the like, whatever the present lack of facilities and encouragement for research. Also this emphasises further the need for a well-informed public opinion concerning modern Maoridom.

* * *

It is just such a desire to give an intelligent account of the Maori position that lies behind this survey. To do this it will be necessary to cover past, present, and future. The present condition and the future destiny of the race cannot be understood or surmised without a knowledge of the past. All that has gone before from earliest beginnings

of the race has bearings on, in fact is the cause and condition of present and future. Nor will it be sufficient to go back to the coming of the white man to Aotearoa. The ancient life still has many vital meanings in the life of to-day. However, the study of the past contained in the first section is only important in so far as it will shed light and meaning upon the facts of present and future.

The real purpose of our study, then, is to reveal the changing Maoridom in its interaction with modern civilization. Our theme is "What of the Maori?"

PART I.

THE PAST.

I.

THE ANCIENT LIFE.

"I came from the Great Tawhiti, from the Long Tawhiti, from the Very-Distant Tawhiti, from Hono-i-Wairua, (the Gathering-Place-of-Souls), from Hawaiki."

SO may say the Maori when asked whence his ancestors came. But, poetic as this conception is, it hardly appeals with finality to the analytic *pakeha* mind. Hence much investigation has been and is being done to locate the original home of the Maori. It is generally agreed to-day that the race is of Polynesian stock with an admixture of Melanesian. Authorities differ somewhat as to where these two peoples came into contact and the exact relationship between the two strains, while agreeing in the main that the general line of migration was through Asia. It is held mostly that they are, as already indicated, an early offshoot of the Caucasian race, having left Western Asia or the Mediterranean basin at the dawn of civilization to come by successive migrations through Asia to the Pacific shores and so out into the scattered islands.

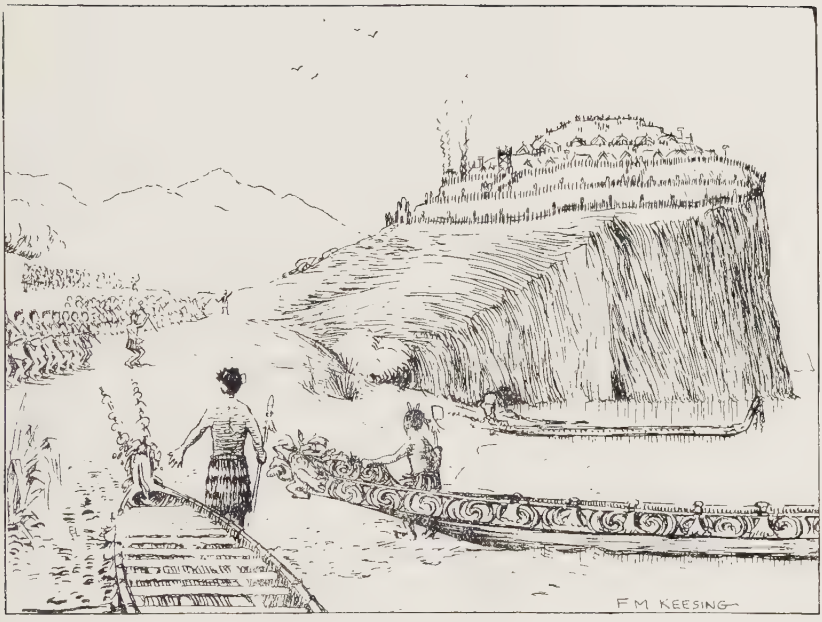
Probably about the Seventh Century A.D. the first bold Polynesian seafarers came south to visit Aotearoa, "The Long White Cloud." From then, traditions tell, there were many visitors until the coming of the main *heke* or migration in the Fourteenth Century. However, there is evidence to show that by then the North was peopled by a race with a considerable Melanesian strain, the *tangata whenua* of legend, whose presence is accounted for by a number of varied theories. Without entangling ourselves with these, it is sufficient to say that these original inhabitants were partly absorbed, and to this is primarily due the mixed strain in the race to-day. The fleet of six canoes which brought the immigrant families from *Hawaiki* marks the first great point in Maori history. These peoples arrived definitely to colonise the land, and it is from them that all present tribes claim descent. Apparently no further intercourse was maintained with their island homes, and so

began the long period of isolation that lasted until the coming of the white man.

It is difficult to sum up the characteristics displayed by these early folk, other than in general terms. The main strain is Polynesian, restless, virile, and warlike, of high intelligence and splendid physique; with this a secondary Melanesian strain of darker colour, less aggressive perhaps, and with rather more negroid characteristics. From this blending has come the Maori race, physically a splendid people of many types, and mentally active, intelligent, and highly adaptable.

The life of the Maori people in this new land was bound up with their physical environment. The population centred mainly in the temperate North Island, the climate of which is moist and innervating, and the contour rugged with dense forests, swift streams, lakes and swamps, high mountains and volcanic phenomena, with a coastline indented and island-dotted. Plant life of peculiar distinctiveness abounded, and birds thronged the forests and seashore; fish swarmed in sea, lake, and stream, and insect life filled air and earth with movement. The land was quite free from poisonous or harmful reptiles. But beyond a native rat, two species of bats, and the ubiquitous native dog, the islands had no mammalian life whatever—all vital factors in Maori economics. To such surroundings came the hardy canoe voyagers, settling on the coast and spreading inland. How they built upon the heritage of lore and family tradition, and supplemented the material goods lashed in their frail barks, to develop a culture quite unique among primitive peoples is the further theme of this chapter.

Within the comparatively simple and isolated communities, the satisfaction of the primary needs of life in this new and strenuous land, so different from the languorous tropical isles, called for all that was best physically. Life had a stress. Of food, the staples were fish and fowl, the sweet potato and fern-root. For fishing, canoes had to be hewn out from tree-trunks with fire and stone tools, nets woven, lines plaited, hooks carved from shell and bone; birds had to be snared and speared by ingenious means; the land had to be cultivated, crops planted and harvested; fern root had to be soaked and pounded. For clothing the



THE MAORI IN WAR.

A war party, landing to attack a coastal settlement, open hostilities with a war-dance.

Photo. by Dominion Museum.

A TATTOOED *RANGATIRA* (CHIEF).

winning and weaving of the swamp flax *(phormium tenax)* to form garments both for utility and for beauty demanded the utmost patience and skill. The building of houses, work that it was, called for less energy than the elaborate planning and fortifying of the *pa* or village fortress, where in those strenuous times every community of necessity gathered. So comes a most important factor in Maoridom, complicating immensely all the preceding activities and absorbing much of his energies—war.

It might be said that when the Maori of old had his food-supplies assured, his body clothed, and his dwelling constructed, his next need was an enemy to fight; and, as the white soldiers and colonists were to discover in later times, the Maori was a magnificent fighter. As will be shown, the tribes were organised on a basis of blood-relationship, and all outside the tribe were enemies, or friends of mere convenience. The making of fighting men was therefore a matter of vital tribal concern, hence the stock was kept at its best. Sometimes a tribe reduced to weakness before a hereditary enemy would set out to "breed warriors."

"Keen for the conflict are we
Hot for the slaying of men
Hungry for eating of men
Like a *ngarara* monster our host—
Lo! The murderous sweep of its tail,
The snapping, the foam of its jaws."

Naturally the education of the youth was primarily physical—the control and flexion of muscles, agility, power and strength of endurance, keenness of sight and hearing, and skill with tools and weapons. The gruelling tests of open campaigning gave hardness, and with constant warfare, the weaklings had little chance of survival. Nor were the women less virile than the men, taking a strenuous place beside them at work and even in battle. The whole family and tribal training ensured that boys and girls were reared to maintain the aggressiveness, independence, and prowess of the ancestral stock.

Another important point that bears on the problems of to-day was the comparative immunity of the Maori from disease other than the scars of battle. If he escaped the anger of the gods, the dangers of war, and chance accident,

he generally lived on to a good old age. Leaving out for later mention all mental shocks related to *tapu* (spiritual laws), he seemed able to endure physical pain with stoic indifference. The treatment of sickness was, from our viewpoint, often lacking utterly in human sympathy, the rituals and exorcising ceremonials of the priests being naturally the opposite of scientific. For the most part, however, the hardening effects of the active open-air life kept the people fit, in spite of a considerable lack of knowledge of even the elementary laws of hygiene, and a resulting lack of cleanliness and fastidiousness of taste and smell. The squalor and odour of their unventilated houses, the daubs of red ochre and rank shark-oil upon their bodies, and their love of *kai pirau*, putrid foods, were revolting to the sensibilities of early European visitors.

Thus we see that the primitive Maori was a splendid physical machine. The stress of existence kept the stock at its best, and the whole of training and the activities of work, and play, especially of warfare, contributed to the bodily efficiency of the individual.

Turning now to examine the intellectual life of the Maori, we approach the most complex and interesting field of development, yet one that has so far been very imperfectly analysed. For the mentality of the Maori has been described for the most part in popular and poetic terms rather than psychological. Here it will be possible only to seek certain fundamental principles out of the rich and fascinating field of native thought-life, as a basis for considering the impact of civilized culture in more modern days.

Two outstanding impressions emerge: first, that the thinking of the average Maori, like that of all primitive folk, was mainly at the more concrete levels of perception, imagery, and memory, the higher processes of abstraction and conception being hardly stimulated; second, that it was dominated by fantasy, by intense feeling-states. Mentally, the Maori was retarded by lack of intellectual stimulus at a childhood stage of development.* He lived in a fantastic

* This analysis of primitive mentality need not be read with any great feeling of superiority by "civilized" folk. It is true that even in countries where educational standards are high the great majority of people have advanced little, so far as their daily life-experience is

world: of shadows, of myths and legends, of personification, of conceptions both beautiful and terrible, out of which he could never grow because of the very all-sufficiency of that world for the needs of his daily experience. In the ultimate he conceived of himself as a spirit in a world controlled by spirits and spiritual laws, *tapu*. Though to us comparatively unscientific and often ridiculous, his interpretation of life, vouched for by the authority of antiquity, gave him a perfectly adequate explanation of the meaning of existence, and of all natural, personal, and social phenomena. It is truly a dream realm, finding unique expression in his language, poetry, art, music, ceremonial, and social customs. The *tohunga* or priestly adept was the exponent and guardian of its secrets.

> "The world of Spirits was their dumb Police
> And Ghosts enforced their lightest Laws."(19)

Tradition ensured its stability, and utter belief inhibited all enlightenment and mental advance. Thus the Maori had little place for an elaborate science of meteorology, for were not the clouds, rain, sun, thunder and lightning, the visible manifestations of spirits at the beck and call of the *tohunga*, speaking through him, and propitiated only through his mediation? And within this harmonious, complete and exceedingly complex system, there came to be established very effective and stable standards of conduct and systems of external restraints. Yet the negative forces of life never brought the degradation of utter servitude to the unknown. The ways in which the individual found active self-assertion will be considered later.

Did the Maori ever rise far from the levels of imitation and habituation to philosophic insight? Until very recently the last of the old body of wise men have jealously preserved from white knowledge a great amount of higher wisdom and esoteric lore, the *kete aronui* or topmost of the "three baskets of occult knowledge" just as it has been preserved

concerned, from this same childhood stage. Someone has said that, on the average, few of us engage in as much as half an hour of real "thought" every day. In fact, some students would claim for the Maori, not only a capacity for judgment and analysis equal to that of the white races, but also a strong development of certain other traits, more mystical and spiritual, which the hard-headed Anglo-Saxon seems to lack to any great degree.

from the common people through the centuries. The tremendous sanctity of this caused the priests to give to the people the "lower baskets" only, an inferior though very complete and exacting body of lore and black magic. The inner or sacerdotal cult, as it is now being revealed before being lost forever, was the contemplation and service of Io (name too sacred to be heard on common lips), the Supreme Being, all wise and good, of twelve aspects, living in the uppermost of twelve realms. Elsdon Best in his study of this cult says: "There seems to have been no teachings as to the origin of Io, He is Io the Parentless, Io the Eternal . . . was the origin of all life and all entities."(1) Space prevents elaboration of these remarkable monotheistic concepts. Cowan says, "The Maori could conceive of uncountable aeons of Chaos and primeval Darkness, these gradually giving place to light until the Ao-marama, the World of Light, was evolved. Ages upon ages of Nothing, as the old *tohunga* recite, preceded the gradual dawn of Life and the coming into being of the Heavens and the Earth"(2)—truly stupendous conceptions to be worked out by an isolated priesthood and passed down secretly by a section of the ancient "School of Learning," a kind of oral university, unknown and unsuspected by the ordinary folk. They obeyed in blind belief the elaborate system of inferior restraints, ceremonials, and spells, "theirs not to reason why." Birth, marriage, death, war, planting, fishing, in fact every activity of life was bound by chant, sacrifice, propitiation, and ritual, all with momentous spiritual content.

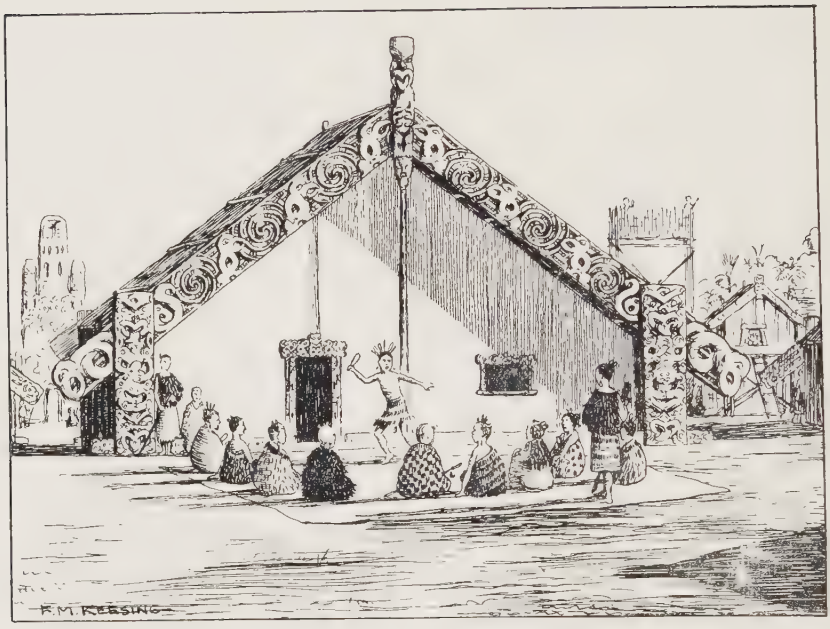
The Maori had no form of writing or symbolism, communication being direct. All lore was acquired and passed down by word of mouth, the family group being naturally the chief educational institution. The Maori dialect is a branch of the wider Polynesian language which is found in various parts of the Pacific, and is related back to distant origins. Gesture, facial expression, tone changes, and rhythm aided the spoken word. Naturally terms denoting abstractions were rare, especially so in the language of everyday life (as compared with the sacerdotal terminology): meanings were conveyed by mythopoetic imagery, metaphorical expressions, aphorisms, personifications and allegories.

> "The tide of life glides swiftly past,
> And mingles all in one great eddying foam."

THE THOUGHT-LIFE OF THE MAORI.

"A fantastic world of shadows, of myths and legends, of personification, of conceptions both beautiful and terrible . . ."

On lake and shore the *taniwha* (dragons), in the forests the *patupaiarehe* (fairy-folk); all Nature with its *mauri* (soul-force); and ever present spirits—the *atua* (deities), the *tipuna* (demons), and so on; also the spirit-forms of mighty ancestors.



WITHIN A *PA*.

A chief harangues his fellow-chiefs before the meeting-house.

(Note the grotesque carvings, especially the human figures, the symmetrical spirals, and the strange monsters on the gable boards. A look-out platform and storehouse are on the right, and the narrow carved entrance on the left. Various types of flax and feather robes are worn.)

The feeling-tone was always to the fore, so that communication tended to be "concrete-affective-subjective." Polack describes a warrior thus: "The old orator quivered with rage and ferocity, stamping the ground with his feet as he turned on either side of the arena. He brandished his tomahawk above his head with exciting vehemence, his eyes glared with the fierceness of a demoniac. After exhausting himself for some time, he finished his theme amid reiterated shouts of applause."(3) Probably he produced about one idea altogether, but his whole speech (as in Maori oratory generally) was directed to arousing an intense emotional response. Innumerable are the beautiful and weird myths, stories of personified mountains, of fairy folk, of monsters in sea and cave. That melancholy strain which runs through most of the ancient Maori music, chants, and songs, and the beautiful imagery and metaphor which characterise their language, are well shown in a funeral dirge collected by Cowan and partially translated by him thus:

"Ah me, my children!
My flock of happy forest birds
That flew from tree to tree in brighter days
Now fast in woodman's snare.
My beautiful, my slender totara—
'Tis snapped by wintry gale.
My tall red-painted warrior sons—
Alas, alas
How grand ye dashed against the foe,
And I! I saw ye go!" (2)

Mere words cannot convey the sentiments, but one must picture the broken heart, the streaming eyes, and wailing chant notes rising and falling as the old man rocks to and fro in his grief. This is typical of the mass of oral folk-songs, funeral chants, and sentimental ditties that were passed down and treasured from generation to generation. The fact that the Maori had to depend entirely upon the memory of the individual for the preservation of all tribal lore, tradition, and history, made everyone in some measure responsible for maintaining unimpaired the cultural heritage of the race. Thus the whole atmosphere of the primitive life guided thought into these fossilised concepts, and the narrow content of the Maori language, together with the priestly domination, prevented any development.

Already certain institutions have been touched on which play a vital part in shaping Maori conduct: the *tapu* with its all-embracing restraints, and the accepted traditional customs and standards within the social group. On the spiritual side, the shadow-show of the *tapu* tended to crush out creativity and enlightenment. In his relationships to the unknown, the Maori often lost his individuality in abject abasement. Impossible here to illustrate the intricate system of repressions, the intense fearshocks paralysing life itself, the grotesque nightmare creations reflecting racial memories of primeval jungle denizens of Asia, the sacred portent of natural phenomena, and especially the spirit presence of mighty ancestors; all vital and potent in individual and community life.*

However, the Maori was saved from too great a subjection by the *tapu* attached to himself as a man, having a *mauri* or vital spark, a *wairua* or spirit, and *mana* or personality. Hence in human activities and relationships he had a distinctly positive and assertive attitude. This, however, was usually distorted into over-positive self-expression, as a reflex of the extreme negative relation to the unknown. In his dealings with man, the one being he surely did know, he found violent outlet for the pent-up inner life. It is necessary here on this account to make an important distinction. Thus, keeping in mind the fact that all members of each tribe were kindred, descendants of a common ancestor (though to an extent intermarried with other tribes), it will be seen that this over-assertion would find very different avenues of expression in his relationships within and outside this all-important group. The moral code of the Maori has been well summed up as: "Love, support, and

* In speaking thus of the general institution of *tapu* it has been brought to the writer's notice that there has been a tendency on the part of most students of the ancient Maori to dwell too much on its extreme forms. Certainly there is danger of giving an overdrawn picture of *tapu* in action through the isolation of its more grotesque and fearful aspects. However, in actual practice, even with these extremes, it formed from day to day a working basis of relationship to things known and unknown. "One may as well," to quote Sir Apirana Ngata, "people Western civilization with police and detectives and visualise the commoner walking as it were on a tight-rope between rows of them. The average tribesman of old would go about his daily affairs with relatively as much freedom as a strict Romanist would have done, say, a century ago."

fight for your tribe, and uphold the honour and prestige of your ancestors."(1)

It will perhaps be best to consider first his modes of assertion outside the related group. Fear gripped him when dealing with spirit things; but let all outside his kin be gripped by that same fear of him as a man! The abjectness of his humility resulted in quite an abnormal savagery towards others, making "all fair" no matter how degrading according to modern standards. Lying, theft, cunning, deceit, treachery, cruelty, revolting orgies were applauded and admired. A man's *mana* increased according as he could destroy the *mana* of the enemy, no matter how he did it. "*He wahine he whenua e ngaro ai te tangata*" said the Maori, but there were far deeper reasons for the "blotting out of men" besides "women and land." Even where a tribe had allies, they were usually friends of expediency: as a Maori proverb puts it, "outwardly eating together, inwardly tearing to pieces." The apparently trivial causes of long and bloodthirsty wars had weighty portent when considered as affecting the *mana* of the tribe or individual. And woe betide the weak tribe which had spiritual dues, *utu,* outstanding against them at the hands of a stronger tribe. Well might they seek the aid of their *tohunga,* and look to the bindings of their palisades! Thus, as a part of war training, excellence in cunning, deceit, and insult were sought for and practised assiduously, and valued equally as qualities of bravery, skill, and endurance. The war dance with its vivid rolling eyes, tearing fingers, and terrifying shouts, gave that extreme self-assertion just as did the secret attack, the hand to hand struggle, and death cry of the vanquished, the exultation of triumph, and the orgy of cannibalism. Hence the prominence of war as an activity among the Maori tribes of old.

Cruise thus describes the famous warrior-chief Hongi Hika: "Yet was this man, although in battle ferocious and bloodthirsty as a beast of prey, at other times all equability and gentleness, and not more distinguished by the mildest manners and kindliest affections than by a natural taste and ingenuity in arts."(4) Early writers were extremely puzzled at the extreme contradictions in Maori nature. But it is now possible to understand the way in

which the individual asserted himself quite differently towards friend and kin. Within the communal unit, generally a sub-division of a tribe living in a *pa,* or hill-fort, there could be little place for any elaborate system of civil restraints. All activities tended to be assertive, except in the case of slaves, usually captives of war. General *tapu* dominated the individual, but the personal *tapu* would allow few man-made restraints. So that the relationships and customs within the commune, determined as they were by tradition and social heredity, were all means of self-expression rather than compulsory obligations. The " individual good " was practically identified with the " communal good " as it was interpreted by the chief and *tohunga.* What was valued in each member of the tribe, was his ability to pursue the ends of the tribe, and his education was directed towards this. A man's *mana* varied according to his accomplishments as a fighter or carver, hunter or fisherman, singer, grimacer, flute-player, and so on.

Yet, just as in the case of relationships outside the kin, the attitude towards human activities tended to be over-positive. So that many forms of self-assertion are exaggerated and effusive—the ceremonials of meeting and greeting, of hospitality, of farewell, oratorical boastings, the strange custom of *muru* (plundering), manifestations of joy and sorrow, and the home relationships of parents and children. However, in this simple village organisation most of the problems of modern civilization had not yet appeared: no complex institutions involving rights and duties were developed, material things were mainly common and hence were the united concern of all, individual worth depended on attainment in the valued activities of the group.

It will be helpful to indicate certain practical aspects of the ethical code of the commune, as a comparison with more modern standards. Consider the question of taking human life. For a Maori to kill a slave was nothing, for he had no *mana,* was an impersonal chattel; to kill an enemy was an achievement, provided the tribe could withstand the sure vengeance of the offended tribe; but to kill a member of the group would bring not only a host of indignant relatives for *utu,* payment, but would rouse the displeasure of the whole group, as losing a valuable unit. For the wife of a slain warrior to kill herself that her

soul might travel with him the road to the Spirit-Land was praiseworthy, for she had no *mana* apart from her husband. Infanticide, especially in the case of female children, was fairly common. But Maori love of their offspring is proverbial. They were petted and given the utmost liberty and indulgence, and on no account thwarted or punished. Thus, from earliest years, in all social groups within the tribe was fostered the fierceness and independence of spirit that would lead each new generation to pursue with zest the traditional purposes of the tribe.

Under a system such as these facts indicate, it was natural that there should be little discipline of the impulses and appetites—hence the Maori, where he falls so far short of modern ethical standards in his social relationships, is non-moral rather than immoral, as earlier writers never tired of saying. The whole of training, rather than bringing restraint, merely directed the primitive feeling-life into certain simple channels defined by tradition and the daily round of experience. The individual would brook few man-made controls, for the great negative forces of his life came from without—potent spiritual regulations of the unknown that made him abject.

> "Fearfully flashes the lightning
> On Rangitoto's peak.
> 'Tis a message to me
> A sign of Death
> To my children, to my tribe."

It is now our further task to examine the life of ancient Maoridom from the viewpoint of his aesthetical development —to consider how far and in what further ways his feeling-life found expression.

Already it has been emphasised that these always tended to be extremely spontaneous and often over-positive. Also the weakness of his fantasy life, as in the case of a young child, made his feeling-states very transitory as well as dominating. A vivid, if superficial, picture of the play-life of the emotional, unstable, and child-like Maori is given by an early visitor, Polack: "The instant one of the company is struck by the sudden whim to play a certain game, he becomes excited in an instant, and his companions are as quickly aroused to join in the amusement . . . infant and adult, the boy and the greybeard, quit the postures they

were arrested in to pursue with similar ardour the new amusement. We have seen a large assembly of both sexes and all ages absolutely infuriated with the excitement of the song and the accompanying dance arrested simultaneously on one of the choristers suggesting the pleasures of a *tangi* (wailing for the dead) with its abominable excoriations . . . with heads hid with garments, entwining each other, they burst forth simultaneously into a paroxysm of tears with dismal groanings and wailings. Sharp mussel shells are made use of to excoriate the skin and the consequence follows in streams of blood."(3) The demand for every opportunity of assertion in the social group seems to have developed many extremely exaggerated and grotesque forms of expression, a few of which are glimpsed in the above quotation.

Another important feature of all this primitive self-expression was the part played by the simple form bases of symmetry and rhythm, called by the psychologist Wundt, the " earliest aesthetic stimuli."(20) Undisciplined as it was, the feeling-life of the Maori found its greatest satisfaction through simple motifs of pattern, design, balance, interval variation and so on. In work and play, chant and dance, decorating and shaping, fighting, paddling, digging, these are utilised to get the maximum efficiency and keenest pleasure. Naturally it is in the play-forms, arts, and crafts that rhythm and symmetry are most apparent. However, it is here necessary to make an important distinction. For obviously the Maori would find his intensely spontaneous emotional expression in the more subjective arts—music, poetry, dramatic interpretation—rather than in those bound by objective limitations of time, space, media, and all important *tapu* content, such as carving, pattern-weaving and the like.

Little further need be said about the assertion through the emotional and mythopoetic language and the folk-lore passed down by each generation. By night the people would gather in the meeting house or round a fire to listen to the tales of the old men, to laugh at quips, to thrill at ancestral deeds, and to quake at tales of spirit monsters and demon forces affecting their lives. It was all intensely real and personal.

So too were the games and ceremonials, feasts and funerals—and all impossible without endless song and dance. Little effort was made to evolve musical instruments. For the human voice served almost every sound requirement: to intone the passionate love-songs and mourning laments, to shout the rousing choruses of work and play, to wail the solemn ritual chants, and to yell the responses of the war-dance. Innumerable were the chants passed down in every tribe, mainly of extremely ancient origin, and usually the impromptu outburst of some ancestor in time of great emotional stress—death, victory, loneliness, happiness. As one of the most sympathetic students of the Maori says: "Though they appeal to *pakeha* appraisal as do the monotonous skirls and groans of the bagpipes, his gamut of three full notes and fractions, no notation can record, without harmonics, counterpoint and trivial voice changes, yet seemed to the Maori ear a psalmody of divinest inspiration."(12)

Dancing, too, as with all other primitive peoples was highly developed as means of expressing the feeling-life. The Maori had several distinct customary forms of dancing, all group dances, and depending for their expressiveness upon symmetry and rhythm of voice and movement. The dancers (and spectators) entered fully into the emotional abandon, yet preserved by perfect practice the exact time, pose, and intonation required. The war-dance naturally aimed at arousing the frenzy and assertiveness of the performers and the terror of spectators. The *haka,* or posture dance, with its rolling eyes and lolling tongues, moving hands and stamping feet, was another highly expressive dance. Also very popular were the *poi* dances of the womenfolk, performed with twirling flax-balls and swishing kilts. The *haka* and *poi* were usually descriptive and interpretative of some mighty event, ancestral feat, or ceremonial rite, and with voice and action representing vividly the spirit and movement of the theme, they approach to drama.

Unfortunately, however, much of ancient lore, song, and dance, expressing as it did the standards and relationships of a primitive people, can hardly measure up to the more developed moral codes of to-day. This must be considered later in relation to problems of preserving the ancient culture. The more general play activities that

whiled away the leisure hours in the settlement were also very expressive, and wherever possible were founded on simple rhythm and symmetry of form—stick-tossing, rope-swinging, hand-clapping, string-figure work, and the like.

Compared with the spontaneity and extreme assertion of the subjective arts, the objective arts were singularly conventional. The Maori apparently caught no inner vision that drove him to creation through "memorial" or "imitative" art. The crudeness of tools, the troubles of preparing the materials, the difficulties of extracting colour-dyes, and so on, made the work laborious; yet this was added to by the extreme sacredness of both worker and his material, necessitating ceremonial and *tapu* restrictions, and the spiritual standardisation of the symbolic patterns and designs. Hence the work became craft rather than art. Thus before a newly-erected house could be opened there was an intricate ceremonial to be passed through to propitiate the spirits concerned, this but the last of a long ritual order that had been carried out from the first contemplation of the work. A typical part of the formula runs as follows: "Tane (the Tree-Spirit) stood erect amid the forest shades, but now he is fallen. Bind, bind together . . . so that into thee, O Tane, may enter not . . . the Frost Wind, the Great Rain . . . that thou mayst stand against the assault of the Mighty Wind, the Long-Prevailing Wind, the tempests of the wind-god Tawhiri-matea! . . . These shall dwell within Tane standing here before me—Warmth, Heaped-up Warmth, and Glowing Heat, Joy, and Gladness!" The Maori was certainly a great worker in wood, yet never, owing to his spirit concepts, was he a destroyer of his forests as has been the *Pakeha* after him!

Another element in all craft work was the lack of any time factor, for being *tapu*, the worker was strictly barred from any other communal activity; or in the case of weaving and similar tasks the work was done by the womenfolk. Hence with little time stress, these conventional designs tended to efflorescence, even to over ornamentation, being perfected in pattern, symmetry and all detail, though lacking this spontaneity and creativity. It is a wonder art, in that it preserves in wood, stone, bone, flax, and feathers the expression of a fossilised thought-life,

Photo. by N.Z. Govt. Publicity.

THE *HAKA*, A RHYTHMIC DANCE.

Photo. by Dominion Museum.

THE MAORI AS AGRICULTURIST.
A four-man power team.

and the spiritual aspirations of a people retarded at primitive levels of development.

But apart from this more formal art, the Maori experienced tremendous pleasure in simple rhythmic forms and bright colours. Hence valued artifacts, houses, canoes, weapons, and the human person were carefully carved and tattooed, and made gayer with bird-plumes, dog's hair, and the like. The symmetrical curve of a greenstone *mere* (weapon), the delicate fretwork of bow and stern of a canoe, the detailed relief carving and figures on houses, food-stores, palisades, the effective colour designs in house-interiors and woven into the soft flax and feather robes, and especially the intricate tattooed face and body patterns, are works of unique and amazing beauty. When modelling the human figure, however, it was made usually as grotesque and ferocious as possible, since the Maori considered the carving to symbolise the spirit of the subject, and the braver the man, the fiercer his effigy should be—naturally an aspect of individual self-assertion.

There is little space here to make reference to the other primitive crafts that made the life of the settlement a busy one. There was a constant demand for weapons, tools, nets, canoes, baskets, houses, and numerous other productions of the tribal craftsmen. Fortunately much of the art and craft work of ancient times has been preserved, even where its value and *mana* have long since gone.

There is one final aspect of the ancient life that may well be selected out for special mention here as having a bearing on problems to be considered later. It is the general question of " work." At the commencement of this survey the extreme demands upon the individual and group in maintaining food supplies, clothing, and shelter were emphasised. There has also been sketched his skill and patience in art and craft, the organisation of communal activities, and the thorough and painstaking effort to carry out the valued purposes of the tribe. It is true that much of the common drudgery was done by slaves. Nevertheless, the ancient Maori, chief and commoner alike, were engaged constantly in hard and exacting agricultural, industrial, and creative work. Though not driven by the same complex social and economic urges as move civilized man to work, the primitive struggle to survive and find expression

developed in all to a very great degree the work capacities of organisation, application, and sacrifice for the attainment of a goal desired. The excavating of a food-pit or fortification, the making of traps and snares, cultivating and harvesting, and such other skilled and unskilled tasks as have been referred to in the study will suffice to illustrate the fact that the Maori was capable of strenuous and sustained work when occasion arose. The reason for this special emphasis on work capacity will become apparent when the problem of work and the modern Maori is considered.

To sum up this final aspect of the ancient Maoridom: the extreme negative restraints of his spirit world tended to be reflected in an extremely positive and assertive self-expression through art, craft, play, ceremonial, and work. Between this distorted abasement and the resulting distorted assertion, life varied according as the material and spiritual stress of life changed—success of harvest and hunt, tribal war strength, the nature of omens, the power of the *tohunga*, and so on. In normal times there must have been quite a zest to life, and a measure of individual happiness.

* * *

An attempt has been made to view the main physical, intellectual, ethical, and aesthetic features of the primitive life as it had developed up to the coming of the white man. It is difficult to cover this vast and fascinating field in so short a survey. Also there is the danger in the compression of the facts of making the picture too extravagant and highly coloured. " The annual round had indeed its supreme moments where the chief, the orator, the warrior, and the priest filled the stage, but in between the problem of subsistence called for a sustained, well-planned tribal effort and for elements of foresight, wise direction and co-operation in the social and industrial organisation." It has been sought, however, to present the salient aspects of the ancient life—the Maori as agriculturist, as organiser, as architect, as artist, and as warrior. By keeping in mind the purpose of our further studies, in which the impact of civilization upon Maoridom will be traced, it has been possible to curb the thought from being overwhelmed in the detail that makes the past a living picture to-day.

A considerable literature exists to enable the willing student to fill out this analytical framework. Still it is hoped that the survey has been made sufficiently vivid to catch something of the glamour of the ancient life and culture.

The Maori has been presented as probably of high culture-potential, yet retarded by lack of stimulus and bound by conservative tendencies to remain in a semi-childhood stage of mental development. And when, as a giant sea bird, the " Endeavour " rose out of the Great-Expanse-of-Kiwa, and civilized man met savage upon the sandy beach, a new era dawned for the brown-skinned children of Aotearoa.

II.

THE COMING OF THE *PAKEHA*.

"*Haeremai, Haeremai!*
E te manuhiri tuarangi—
Welcome, Welcome!
Strangers from the far horizon
From the dimly distant sky-line—
Haeremai, Haeremai, Haeremai!"
—Ancient Greeting Song.

"Oh! Why did the *Pakeha* ever come to disturb us in our happy country? Why did not our ancestors foresee our doom, and slay all who first touched our shores? Too late! Alas, too late! We cannot kill them now!" (6)

NEW ZEALAND has been one of the last countries of the world to be swept into the flood of European civilization. Like many other cultures that have existed for centuries in isolation, the Maori culture was more or less stagnant, or rather had no outlet for its circling current of life-activity. The interaction between *Pakeha* and Maori has now proceeded for several generations. What has been the result, and what lessons does the past give for the present and future progress of the Maori people?

It is impossible to separate the factors in the changing life of the race from the historical facts of transition. However, in such a survey as this only a glimpse of the history of the past century and a half can be given. For the rest, the reader must go to volumes dealing with the history of New Zealand. What is important for us is to trace the broad tendencies of change as Western civilization steadily impacted upon the ancient cultural heritage of the Maori. First it will be helpful to cover the period up to the present in a general historical glimpse; then to endeavour to interpret this from the more searching viewpoint of sociology. The way will then be clear to examine, in the light of the past, the stage of change at present reached in the life of the race, and the possible lines of future development.

* * *

In 1769, Captain Cook rediscovered the land which Tasman had touched at only to name New Zealand. In 1814, Samuel Marsden, pioneer missionary, preached his first sermon to the natives. Almost a half century had elapsed, marked by little incident other than the casual visits of sailing ships and a precarious intercourse along the coasts. Inevitably trouble arose in the conflicts, marked by evil deeds and exploitation by the white man, and a response according to Maori code in treacherous attack and cannibal orgy. To the horrified outside world, the land was the dark abode of fierce anthropophagi, so that none might land and live.

But within Maoridom itself the new influences were quickly beginning to overthrow the primitive system. Naturally, the first changes were among the material things of life. Cook's introduction of the pig and the potato at once commenced to alter the whole economy of the village life. The coming of Iron to a people still retarded in the Stone Age is symbolical of the stimulus to new experience in these first contacts. Thus the precious greenstone, most prized of materials, straightway dwindled in worth beside a rough crowbar of iron. Steadily this revolution worked up from the material things. For in discrediting the crafts, say, tool-making, weapon-shaping, and so on, the innovations tended to discredit their *tapu*, the *mana* of their craftsmen, and of those possessing the native-made objects; also to weaken or upset entirely the traditional standards, values, and wants.

However, during these first fifty years, little actual effect was apparent, even although the handwriting was already appearing on the walls of the ancient Maori institutions. The natives, "quick, observant, imitative," could well see the advantages to be gained by tolerance even of the brawling sailors and their ways. Some went travelling, and came back to their people with wonder tales, and also many practical ideas.

In 1814, Marsden landed and commenced missionary work. In 1820, Hongi, a fighting chief of the Ngapuhi tribe, returned from the honours of a visit to England, with all his valuable presents realised into muskets, powder, and shot.

After ten years of labour the first Maori convert was baptised. By this time the land was running blood. For while Marsden and his fellow-missionaries were fighting to clear a pathway of love and understanding into the hearts of the people, Hongi had begun a mission of conquest armed with weapons far more easily comprehended by the Maori mind. "The god of the white man is the *pu* (musket)," said the warrior. Immediately a frenzied demand for fire-arms set in. So began the reign of the trader, and so too the ways of primitive Maoridom began to tumble in earnest.

Trader days were peculiarly crucial for the Maori. For the tribes in contact with the white man came down from their hill-forts into the flax-swamps and forests, working feverishly at starvation point to get flax and timber for exchange. Everything—standards, tribal activities, arts, the whole structure of social life—yielded to this single purpose. Those who had guns, Hongi, Te Rauparaha, and others, ranged the country with their war-parties, slaughtering the unprotected workers and isolated tribes. A complete revolution came about in fighting methods. A ship-load of flax was exchanged for a few muskets—this the results of months of labour under fearful conditions. It was a drastic and distressful period this, in the Maori assimilation of what might be termed the dregs of white culture. Every tribe sought to have a white man to live with them as agent for the traders, these unscrupulous " Pakeha-Maoris " being usually runaway sailors or escapees from the penal settlements of Australia. New vices and diseases were introduced, and the natives fell easy victims to ship-board epidemics sweeping the country. No need for further detail in recording these awful years of first contact—sufficient to say that towards 1840 the native population had been reduced to a mere remnant of its former strength. Whole tribes were wiped out.

Strangely enough, Thomson, a historian of 1859, in discussing the state of the Maori at this time, considers " bullets, guns, and powder, important aids of civilization."(8) He suggests that the very revolution in fighting methods caused fighting to stop. However, with more natives returning from overseas, with a glut in the gun-market, and especially with missionary influence, the end of the domination by the trader was near.

Photo. by Dominion Museum from a sketch by Angas.

THE COMING OF THE MUSKET.

Hone Heke and Patuone, two chiefs of early interaction. Note the partial adoption of *Pakeha* clothing.

From an early photograph.

A GROUP OF LOYAL NATIVE TROOPS IN BUSH-FIGHTING COSTUME.

And what of the progress made by the missionaries during these troublous times? An attempt will be made later to estimate the degree in which missionary influence was able to bridge the gulf between the ancient thought-life and the concept of love with all its implications in conduct and character. The difficulties were increased by the fact that this was the professed religion of just those white men who had robbed, killed and committed every kind of evil during the few years of native knowledge of them. Yet, with untiring devotion, and at frequent risk of life, these fine pioneers persevered, learning the native tongue and giving it written form—this an invaluable contribution; also they sought the physical and intellectual improvement of the Maori as well as their spiritual edification. To criticize the missionary methods, and to view in material terms the results of their sacrificial efforts would be as unjust to these brave men and women, as it would be extravagant to claim for them the sole credit of leading the race from primitive superstitions and savage ways. There were many factors now at work to destroy the ancient structure of life—new material values, the gun, trade, a time stress, as well as the influence of not only missionaries but whalers, traders, adventurers, and a little later soldiers and colonists.

Still the missionary was rising to be a power in the land. Starting in the extreme north, the *Rongo Pai,* the "Good News," spread south, eagerly carried by teachers both *Pakeha* and Maori. Soon, amid the echoes of war already dying, a chain of tiny mission-stations became established—symbols of peace and prosperity in the blood-drenched land. Steadily chief, priest, warrior, and slave alike in the districts thus touched yielded to the new faith, apparently throwing over the old systems of thought and belief. The mission-station replaced the fighting-*pa* as the centre of activity. Word battles and bargainings replaced hand-to-hand fighting. New foods, new customs, new amusements came to overthrow the old. The transition in these more accessible districts was apparently going to be rapid and complete.

As early as 1835, attempts were made to achieve some form of political unity. Finally, in 1840, at a special gathering of some chiefs in the north to meet Captain

Hobson, first Governor appointed from England, the Magna Charta of New Zealand was drawn up and signed. By this, the "Treaty of Waitangi," the Maori people acknowledged the sovereignty of the Crown, and as the recognised legal owners of the country, ceded the pre-emptive right to the purchase of all land to the Government. But already large tracts of land had been privately purchased at "musket-blanket" values by land companies, societies, and individuals. Out of this double situation began the land question, which, some have said, has been the origin of all Maori troubles.

Already pioneer settlers were coming in increasing numbers to the Colony, and red-coat garrisons were stationed at important points. Around the coasts, and especially in the North, white influence affected the natives rapidly, though the interior tribes were still practically isolated. The Maori tolerance of the *Pakeha* changed to alarm at the prospective decline in *mana* of their people, whose lands were thus invaded by strangers from across the ocean. Hone Heke in the north tested the situation by four times cutting down the flagstaff at Kororareka, symbol of *Pakeha* supremacy. And it was only after two years of unrest and fighting that the inexperienced British troops, mainly through the support of certain friendly and influential fighting chiefs, were able to crush the aggressor and ensure safety for the apprehensive group of whites in the land. The *mana* of the red-coat suffered severely, and Buller in his reminiscences of this time says "at first the Maoris were despised, afterwards feared, and at last respected."(9)

"The land is a tribal right, necessary and sacred to the existence of the community, for no Maori can possibly live to himself alone. The *Pakeha* has no such tribal instinct. He sought only an individual right in land, a thing unheard of and inconceivable to the Maori. The land is the only living thing; men are merely mortals. What matters the past generation except for the good they did? The land is a mother that never dies!" So says a Maori of the soil which was his birthright. The Government's land policy at the time, from the native viewpoint, was fraught with trouble. The community of ownership made land purchase a most difficult business, and with low prices and acute

mutual misunderstandings, the fire of distrust began to smoulder among the proud and independent tribes.

Meantime all seemed fine materially. True, in the more isolated districts the old order stood firm. However, among the rich river-valleys and on the fertile plains, settlements were prospering. A happy, industrious age, this, and it seemed that the hopes of the well-wishers of the new Colony for the natives were near to fulfilment. In many villages (each a tiny laboratory of the transition), no longer palisaded, but with store and church, the people grew their maize, wheat and potatoes, ground their flour in water-mills presented for conciliatory purposes by a benevolent government, kept a well-stocked farmyard, and basked through the carefree days in the shade of laden orchards of peach and apple trees and trailing grape vines. The result of these preliminary experiments in adaptation to the new order, however, became apparent only too soon.

"We thought it would be easy to vanquish and kill the *Pakeha*. We looked on them as merely a large number of thistles easily cut down and rooted up." So said the Maori. But as the "thistles" spread to cover the native lands, and threaten the *mana* of their owners, they recognised that something would have to be done. History is able to trace carefully the whole process of events leading up to the Maori wars—the "flour and sugar" and land policies of the Government, the King Movement, misunderstandings, Waitara, and then hostilities. But in departing from the more historical viewpoint and analysing the situation from the native aspect, there is a most fruitful field towards understanding the effects of the transition upon the Maori. For beneath these surface conflicts, as will be seen more fully later, the misunderstandings reveal the operation of "baulked dispositions" and "inferiority complexes" aplenty.

The group of chiefs and leaders who came together after long striving and argument to elect a "King" show an amazing divergence of opinion about the whole question of Maori-*Pakeha* relationships. One common basis of unity fired them, however, namely to seek to restore the declining *mana* of their people. Many advocated direct measures to drive the intruders into the sea and regain lands and freedom. But the older men, wiser in the ways of the white

man, saw the impossibility of this. At last saner counsels prevailed, and Potatau Te Whero Whero was hailed as head of the King Movement. This step was not in itself hostile to the Government: the organisation had for its object the preservation of the land, *mana*, and national independence of the Maori people. Its motto is interesting: "*Te Whakapono, te Aroha, te Turi*—Religion, Love, and Law." Moreover the movement was created out of a situation in the transition that called for immediate remedy.

These first experiments had plainly shown that a native race interacting with the white man always tends to lose the virtues of its ancient life, while acquiring the manifold vices of civilization. It is doubtful, however, if the movement could have done much to stay the degeneracy, and the fate already prophesied by those who knew the Maori, namely, extinction. The temporary solution came in —war. Fortunately from this aspect, the warrior spirit was far from crushed, and promptly most of Maoridom hurled itself into the conflict either for or against the King Movement, roused at last to direct measures. Like schoolboys released from the compulsion of learning, and the artificial confines of four walls, they threw off the mannerisms of civilization with their clothes, and entered with zest into the age-old game—true, with rather different weapons, yet with all the pent-up assertiveness and ferocity of ancient times. The tinder of unrest was fired naturally by misunderstandings over land.

In no time the laborious work of half a century seemed to count for naught, and the cultivations were again claimed by the wilderness. But where the encroaching weeds were soon rooted out to be replaced in peaceful times by fresh crops and fruits, the seeds of enmity and mistrust and misunderstanding grew under the fierce culture of war to bear bitter fruit in the heritage of the present generation. Buller says: "Ten years of chronic warfare, an expenditure of millions of money, the devastation of happy homes, and the loss of hundreds of precious lives resulted in a confiscation of some tracts of country, a legacy of bitter feeling, and the sullen alienation of powerful tribes—defeated but not subdued."(9) Yet, looking at the war from this more comfortable distance and from the viewpoint of the welfare of the Maori people, it seems to have stayed the destructive

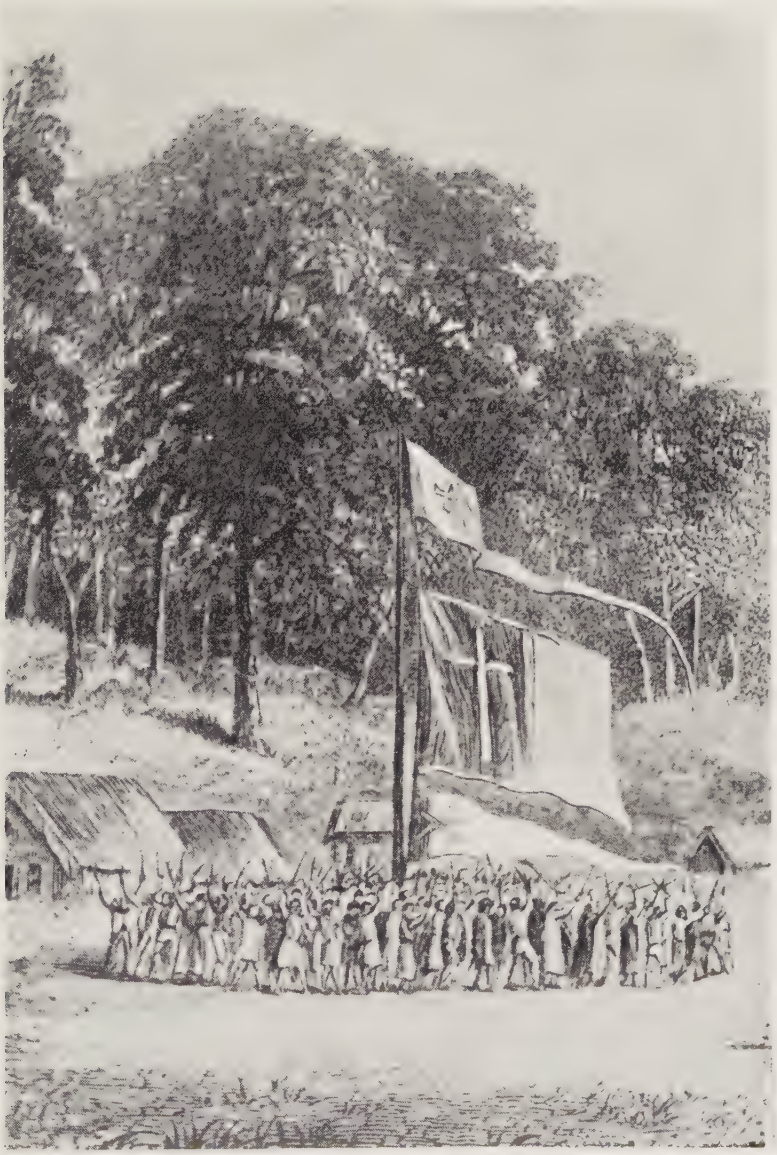
tendencies of the transition and held up degeneracy long enough for constructive forces to really get to work. However, more of this later, except to mention that the natives of the South Island, comfortably adapting themselves to the ways of the white man far from this strife, are to-day but *morehu,* mere scattered remnants of their former strength; and the villages, once so flourishing, are now fern-clad wastes, or are replaced by the dwellings of the *Pakeha.*

"We will fight against you for ever and for ever!" Such was the heroic reply of men and women during the famous siege of Orakau *pa,* scene of the final stand in the Waikato district, to the British general offering them quarter. The tragic picture of these warriors and their families, wailing and chanting farewells as they surrendered foot by foot of their ancestral lands, sullenly fighting as did their forefathers, yet seeing ten men replace the foe struck down, is typical of the struggle of the Maori people for their passing lands and *mana.* Peace came at last in the unequal struggle, but the Maori has not forgotten. A warrior exclaims: "We have been beaten because the *Pakeha* outnumbers us in men. But we are not conquered or rubbed out, and not one of these *Pakeha* can name the day we . . . sued for peace. The most that can be said is that on such and such a date, we left off fighting. *Haka!* ha! ha! ha! We can still dance our war dance!"(6)

Meantime there becomes prominent in Maoridom a new element exceedingly typical of the native mind, and giving some answer to much of the speculation about the effects of civilized thought, especially of Christianity, upon the Maori then and now. This is the rise of the "prophets," or perhaps to put it more accurately the rise of a series of religious cults spontaneously within the Maori people, through the forms, ritual and government of which groups of natives were seeking, however crudely and even dangerously, to give expression to their spiritual life. Hauhauism, founded by a rather harmless dreamer, Te Ua, was a fanatical cult which became prominent in the later war period, and was the forerunner of a number of these Maori "religions" based upon the "revelations" claimed by various prophets. The followers of Hau rushed into battle

chanting spells and incantations to exalt them to physical and spiritual superiority. The ritual, termed *Pai marire* (Good and Gracious), and the ceremonials of the *Ringa-tu* or Uplifted Hand are interesting revelations of Maori thinking. Let one of its spells, a jumble of Christian and ancient concepts, of soldier and sailor terms, of English and Maori language, with the barking watchword of the cult interspersed, suffice to illustrate. It may be translated thus: "God the Father, Hau; God the Son, Hau Hau; God the Holy Ghost, Hau Hau Hau. Attention, save us; Attention, instruct us; Attention, Jehovah avenge us, Hau; Jehovah, stand at ease, Hau; fall out, Hau Hau; Father Good and Gracious, Hau; big rivers, long rivers, big mountains and sea, attention, Hau Hau Hau!" Intoning thus, the naked throng of men, women, and children would touch with the hand the bloody head of a white man set upon a post. These are the same men who cultivated their fruitful hamlets, sat at the feet of the missionaries, and talked in the grave councils of the King-maker.

Titokowaru was another prophet, who revived in his inaccessible bush villages of Taranaki much of the ancient ritual with an intermixture of Biblical concepts—all Hauhaus were great Bible students, this being practically the one book available to the Maori in his own tongue. On the East Coast too, rose the greatest of the Maori prophets, Te Kooti, who kept busy for years all the troops the colony could put into the field against him, and for long after the wars was regarded as the high-priest of the Waikato, East Coast, and Urewera Hauhaus, being revered as a demi-god. Tohu and Te Whiti carried on the inspiration of the West Coast prophets, while up till 1916 the well-known Rua led a movement of disaffection high in the bushlands of the Urewera, where he built and ruled his "New Jerusalem." From time to time to-day certain prophets are claiming fresh revelations for the *Ringa-tu* people, who still number thousands in some isolated districts. Ratana, the faith-healer, in his mushroom township near Wanganui, has in the past few years been influencing many thousands of the Maori people over all parts of the country. Such is one manifestation of the Maori mental and spiritual expression which this survey would seek to explore.



From a sketch in the diary of Lieut. Meade, R.N.

HAUHAUS AT WORSHIP.

[Note the *niu* (flagpole) with its symbolic standards.]

From an old sketch.

NATIVE LAND COURT SITTING.

Settling rival claims to native property.

The half-century that has elapsed since the cessation of hostilities, in contrast to the previous fifty years, is rather lacking in historical incident. Outwardly a great feature up to the end of the century was the activity of the Native Land Courts. In pursuance of the clause of the Treaty of Waitangi by which ownership of land was to be determined "according to native custom and usages," the tribal histories, traditions, genealogies, customs, and relationships were aired in open court by eager claimants. "Native land litigation was entered upon with as much zest as was fighting a generation earlier." Extensive purchases were made by the State and by private individuals of native property, and this tended to be reflected in an extreme period of waste, extravagance, and resulting degeneration among many of those receiving the proceeds.

Even more important than this attempted solution of the native land problem in its effects upon the welfare of the race was the emergence during this period of what was known as the "Young Maori Party." Through this organisation, a group of the younger generation of educated Maori sought expression for their growing convictions as to the position of the Maori in spheres of politics, education, economics, and other aspects of native well-being. The practical results of their efforts will be considered more fully later.

Meanwhile, as the inland districts have been opened up, and roads formed, usually by contracting with chiefs for native labour, *Pakeha* colonization has moved out over the ancient forest lands, and either the tribes have moved back, or have maintained their settlements among the thriving farms. In some districts, however, the natives have preferred to keep their lands to develop, more or less successfully, for themselves. There are even yet isolated parts of the Urewera and "King Country" which have hardly released the exclusive barrier to white influence.

Meanwhile the Government has been striving to do all possible for the race. Full political representation has been given, and the Maori representatives have proved themselves thoroughly worthy of their place in the counsels of the new nation. Various Native Departments, dealing with land-settlements and administration, health, self-government, and the like, are functioning very successfully.

The system of native education, first controlled by missions, and by 1871 re-fashioned into a more workable organisation, has now been taken over by the Education Department, and where in the 'seventies few more than 500 children were receiving schooling, to-day there are 13,000. An analysis of these modern developments will, however, be left over till the consideration of present conditions.

The Great War has come and gone, and Maori fought and died beside the *Pakeha*. On the surface all seems fairly prosperous and well in Maoridom, and the *Kawanatanga*, the Government, is properly proud of its achievement in racial reconciliation. Such is the historical background of to-day.

III.

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE.

> "It is a serious matter to break down the customs, usages, and institutions of a people, to wreck a social system, to destroy substitutes for civil law. It is vain to endeavour to replace such in a brief space of time, for the inferior race has to grow up to the new standards demanded, and that is a slow process."
>
> —*Christian Maori Mythology*, an article by L. W. Parore.

IN the light of this historical background it will now be possible to study more directly the broad principles underlying the interaction of the two races. Starting from the survey of the primitive life, certain tendencies will be traced at work in the steady superimposition of the highly organised culture of the white man. No serious attempt will be made to relate these to the multitude of historical facts of the transition as cause and effect, for in this survey the past is only valuable so far as it concerns present and future. When the present is considered as a moment in the process of change, it will then be possible to see more fully the implications of these fundamental principles in the ordinary life facts of the race. Here again the analysis will be made from the four general aspects adopted in viewing the primitive life—physical, intellectual, ethical, and aesthetical.

It has already been seen how in ancient times the stress of the primitive life, as a result of the struggle for existence, had always tended to produce a vigorous physique and to maintain a virile stock. In the new order, however, food and work activities became far less exacting. The whole physical environment was gradually changed and complicated, necessitating a constant re-organisation of the communal life. However, the Maori had few and imperfect standards to direct him in this early adaptation. Hence the indiscriminate gorging of new varieties of foods, the over-indulgence in *waipiro* (alcohol), the softening effects of

clothing, especially the blanket, and the ignorance of many of the simplest rules of hygiene, gave a new susceptibility and lowered resistance to disease. As already pictured, the dank river flats had not the healthy atmosphere of the hill-top *pa*. European sicknesses and vices tended to cause degeneracy. In fact the whole transition from the hardy, open-air life to the more protected life of *pakeha* ways was fraught with physical troubles. With no medicinal knowledge other than the crude shamanism of the *tohunga*, and receiving little guidance from the average white man (and that, by modern methods, was almost as crude), the Maori seemed in danger of being wiped out early in the history of the colony. It is not necessary to read far into the authentic literature of the time to discover the facts of degeneration. Also the terrible mortality of the first years of the new century was aggravated by the fearful slaughter of "musket-blanket" days.

This leads to the main factor of the ancient life which gave such splendid stamina—war. So long as fighting lasted, the strenuous conditions of campaigning adequately stayed the decadence. But when wars died out about 1840, and white ways and values began to overwhelm the simpler standards of life, the evil effects of instability became fully apparent. The stress of activities removed, bodies became flabby, unexercised, minds torpid, and vitality sluggish. "Tribes of weaklings which possessed guns overcame man's muscle straight, begat weaklings, and died out."(12)

Certainly the wars of the middle century tended to stay the degeneracy in some measure. This will be more fully referred to later; sufficient here to say that, however effective they were at the time, the wars could give no security for future preservation. For immediately fighting ceased and interaction was again resumed between Maori and white man, all the diverse tendencies were still revealed at work. The stock was now weakened by loss in war, and the lack of intercourse between the various districts tended to prevent its revitalisation. For the depleted tribes, mutually suspicious, and unwilling to share the ownership of their particular tribal lands, continued to intermarry within the tribal unit, leading to a dangerous congenital decay. As late as 1908 Archdeacon Walsh considered that: "The race is fast dying out, and that, if the decay continues

at its present rate, a comparatively short time will witness its extinction, though perhaps for a few generations some gradually diminishing traces of mixed blood may be observable in the white population."(13) Those areas in close contact with the white man became depopulated with tragic rapidity, and there seemed no hope that a better fate should be in store for those as yet isolated from advancing civilization. Actually a student says: "It is becoming a rare thing to see a Maori above middle age." True adaptation seems impossible, even though the Maori people still made frantic endeavours to survive. But the causes of decadence lay far deeper than in the changes of the physical environment so graphically analysed by transition writers. Where, first, physical adaptation had been the primary need, the problem of life quickly became, for the individual native, that of a psychological adaptation.

The evolution of the physical basis of life commenced from first contacts and proceeded very rapidly. But it was longer before the ancient culture and social organisation showed signs of decay. From the intellectual point of view, however, the changes in the material standards and customs steadily struck upwards at the *mana* of primitive culture forms, thus preparing the way for the rapid changes of later times.

As interaction enlarged the outlook of the Maori, the bases of his thought life—the tribal ideals and ancestral values, the definitions and axioms of his spirit world—became gradually insufficient to explain his wider experience. So, like a child of six, he commenced to leave his fantasy world behind, and set out to explore analytically this new world that was being brought in fragmentary and exceedingly diverse ways from across the ocean barrier. The latent possibilities, unstimulated by the simple if strenuous environment through long generations, now began to stir as the retarding barriers of negative restraint, of tradition, and of ignorance crumbled away. So the Maori set out to adapt himself to civilized culture, and the transition commenced in earnest.

Three main aspects become apparent in the process of change: the gradual overthrow of the ancient bases of life; the extreme diversity in the struggle for adaptation;

and the difficulties of mutual understanding between the races.

Already the chief features of the primitive thought-life have been outlined. It is quite apparent that the weakening of any link in the chain of belief immediately would endanger the stability of the whole. So that once this thought-system became insufficient to explain the new order, it was displaced, or else evolved, beginning naturally at the more concrete levels of experience. The Maori could well appreciate and adapt to his own purposes the *pakeha* harpoon, and soon the whaler's present became stained with the blood of men as well as of fish. The change proceeded rapidly so far as the Maori imagination and perception enabled him to comprehend the advantages of new things, and as curiosity and emulation prompted him to ape *pakeha* customs and habits. When the newcomers learned the native tongue, and missionaries reduced it to writing, and as Maoris returned from overseas with ideas and enthusiasm, experience was constantly re-organised. However, already there was every kind of differentiation, since many frowned upon or were isolated from these developments; also a new standard of *mana* rose to rival that attained in forwarding the tribal purposes, namely that of accomplishment in *pakeha* knowledge and habits, and possession of *pakeha* goods.

This emphasises the second aspect of the transition—the diversity that came in the struggle of re-organisation, dividing by new differences a Maoridom already rent by internecine strife. Urged by wonder and desire, and making their way by trial and error, imitation and suggestion, the race was stumbling up the first steps of the new way at different rates and in different directions. For civilization presented an exceedingly complex system of thought and behaviour, with no clear-cut or uniform path of progress from old to new.

So long as the Maori was able to select and adapt those things out of white culture that pleased him or were useful to him, there was little trouble. But New Zealand was more and more coming to have importance both in commercial and missionary circles and in the eyes of prospective colonists. Even the reluctant Home Government began to realise that the new country might be an asset

Photo. by "Auckland Weekly News"

EDUCATION AND THE MAORI.

An early school in the bush-lands, Ruatoki.

Photo. by "Auckland Weekly News."

THE OLD AND THE NEW.

Symbolising well the clash and fusion of cultures.

rather than an encumbrance. So commenced the real test, as all the gathering forces of a civilization (itself rapidly changing) swept in upon the Maori, who for so long had merely toyed with its wonders. A vast range of standards, codes and creeds, institutions, conflicting purposes and tastes, a complex social organisation, have been brought in and nationalised, until in the new century the isolated Aotearoa has become a modern nation. However, the practical result of the attempt of the Maori people to bridge the cultural gulf between the ancient and modern manner of life, within almost a single generation, is indicated in the physical picture of the transition already sketched. Why has the Maori found difficulty in adapting himself to the new order?

The trouble seems to have been largely one of communication. It was no accident that practically all Maori-*Pakeha* troubles resulted from mutual misunderstandings. Directly the moral codes taught by the missionaries, the social demands made by the State, and the new truths revealed through schooling began to strike at the vital life-experiences of old, already crumbling from their own insufficiency, demanding new behaviour and comprehension, the Maori was out of his depth. For his own language was too inadequate, and his knowledge of English too imperfect for him to grasp the implications of these. Visible example he could imitate; and none could mimic the white man with his clothes and conventionalities like the Maori of the middle century. But to understand the full meaning of the innovations required a fair measure of thought and (just as with the majority of white folk) the Maori with additional handicaps was quite incapable of such at this stage.

It will prepare the way for understanding the meaning of the present to examine some of the intellectual problems involved in this superimposition of white culture, remembering that these apply to-day as well as to past phases of the transition. Primarily, Maori was the language of everyday life. Already it has been shown to be "concrete-affective-subjective," expressing the thought system of primitive times. At first the missionaries, considering "ship" English unfit for native ears, learned the native tongue and gave it written form. But new experience

quickly proved the paucity of Maori terminology, and the language began inevitably to evolve to abstraction. Terms were introduced or re-defined, while tone, poetry, and gesture came to have less place, though always a large place. But the Maori tongue was, and still is, quite inadequate to express the thought-life of a highly organised society, even though it might satisfy in modernised form the requirements of the ordinary life experience of the settlement. Therefore the Mission Schools, and later the Native Schools, have endeavoured to supplement by instruction the casual knowledge of the English language picked up by intercourse.

But here lies the bi-lingual difficulty. Since English is a "foreign" language, practically all thinking is done in Maori. So that beyond the actual range of individual experience and the flights possible to imagination, English terms become mere formal symbols lacking true content, even where grammar and composition may be perfect. Thus most of the vital explanations that really lie behind the visible externals of white culture are incomprehensible to the Maori. The history of the transition might, generally speaking, be summed up as a history of misunderstandings. Yet there are other factors beside the more intellectual problems of verbal communication that are involved in the difficulties of contact and comprehension that make up the racial barriers. These include such factors as physical isolation, racial differences, variations in custom, tastes, physical habits of cleanliness and the like, and will be more fully analysed in the survey of the present.

Considering again the process of change from another angle, it will be realised how the rapid material and intellectual re-organisation would tend to discredit the old ethical standards—the purposes of living, the fairly simple system of values, restraints, and satisfactions of the primitive life. The *tapu* became broken down steadily, and the social organisation with its codes of behaviour within and outside the tribe, its aristocracy of birth and worth, became complicated as conflicting relationships diversified the scheme of life. Thus the great driving forces of the racial vitality, which had impelled the struggle of life through so many generations, tended to become discredited. The powers of *ariki* (paramount chief) and

tohunga, the community of property, the *mana* and ancestral pride of individual and tribe, even the very worthwhileness of living were all questioned. With the stress of "musket-blanket" days and in the defeats of both war and peace, the social heritage of Maoridom seemed to be having no further meaning in the life of the new generations. It was a drastically sudden change of outlook, and left the older generation looking back despairingly to the past, and the new rejecting it as no longer vital, hence merely a handicap in the assimilation of the new *pakeha* order.

It will be well to note again, however, that this analysis refers to the process of interaction of the races, and, as this contact has taken place in varying degrees and in different ways over the districts of Maoridom, it has been no uniform change. As has been pointed out, the animosities of pre-European days still prevented interaction between the various groups, so that each district and settlement faced the shock of transition in comparative isolation. Even where Maori *mana* so declined as to cause the Northern War and later the King Movement, Tamati Waka Nene fought against Hone Heke, and Ngapuhi refused to stand with Maniapoto.

But the old order everywhere was doomed sooner or later; for the white man was coming now to colonise the new land in earnest, bringing commerce to enrich him, garrisons to protect him, and law to enforce his will.

"The system of hereditary chieftainship—a tool ready to the hand of the Government—had been suffered to fall into decay long before anything had been devised to take its place, and, from a number of well-ordered communities, the Maori nation had degenerated into a mob whose individual members regarded with equal indifference the law of the Queen and the *Ariki.*"(10) Such is the rather sweeping statement made by a writer in describing one aspect of the extreme disruption in these times. The results of the decay of the traditional leadership are typical of the evils arising from the overthrow of the fundamental dynamics of the old life. Yet the new life, as has been seen, offered little stable basis for development. There could be no sudden rise of a social and moral consciousness in the individual, nor was there sufficiently enlightened

leadership, *Pakeha* or Maori, to guide the race through the inevitable disruption. The trader brought material competitive standards, the sailor and colonist varying moral values, the missionaries new spells and *tapu,* the government complex civil restraints backed by force, and these were multiplied and diversified by a thousand petty misunderstandings and permeated by the fragmentary values left from the old order—all forming the accumulating heritage of each generation. Apart from what the individual was able to comprehend through his experience, those forces came to control his life which had weighty negative significance. At first the Maori was willing to give the same utter obedience to these, so far as he could grasp them, as he did to the negative *tapu* of old: thus the zeal of many early converts, sometimes misdirected, the rejection of the ancient institutions of slavery, *tapu,* and the like, and the meticulous imitation of *pakeha* behaviour.

But trouble was inevitable as the superficiality and conflict became apparent with widening experience. The Maori found himself acquiring only the vices of civilization with all their disruptive effects; found himself being worsted in deals over land and goods, and generally ill-treated from his view point by the Government; found Maori *mana* passing away, and the very purpose of living being lost. The leaders saw the struggle for adaptation to be almost hopeless. Dimly they realised that the donning of *pakeha* clothing did not constitute becoming civilized. They felt deeply the weakness and inferiority of the Maori before the confidently domineering *Pakeha.* They were certain that the individual struggle to excel in white ways was more and more disintegrating their people. In the reassertion of Maori *mana* alone could they see any unifying bond to arrest the degeneracy. So the early trust in the all-wise *Pakeha* was turning to suspicion, resentment, enmity. The "fire in the fern"(14) was smouldering redly, and ready to burst into destroying flame.

It is only along such lines of approach that the full implications of the Maori wars of the middle century become clear. The peaceful farmer and trader, the village lay-reader, tore off all vestiges of civilization and rushed joyously into the struggle. The unity of a common purpose smashed through all the diversity of change, and with the

spontaneity of old they danced and fought, though with somewhat civilized ceremonial, and with guns and axes instead of their ancient weapons. If those resisting the *Pakeha* fought a losing fight against overwhelming forces, at least they unconsciously fought a winning fight, for the time, against the more subtle forces that were bringing decadence and sure extinction. Even where tribes joined into the war on the side of the *Pakeha* (not always because they loved the white man more, but because they liked the disaffected tribes less) this deeper battle was in progress. However, after fighting ceased, the enmities and grievances were really further aggravated, especially in view of the confiscation of great tracts of native land from the rebellious tribes, and the withdrawal of liberal payments from the loyal tribes, some of which seemed to have been on the government pay-roll as soldiers, interpreters, roadmakers, and officials, almost " to the last man."

In fact, a generation grew up which tended to lose all hope, all the racial urge to live. They had a surfeit of *pakeha* knowledge, but little comprehension of the truer ideals of a white society which externally seemed to have no place for the Maori. They apparently did not want, or perhaps did not dare to look back to an ancestral past painful to them from its very greatness. So, content to give up the struggle to advance themselves or their children, they tended to isolate themselves within a degenerate exclusiveness, and with lands and *mana* gone in many cases, seemed doomed to extinction. Whole districts that once had known the teeming Maori people became the thriving possession of the white man, and the Maori has passed or is passing away with the passing of his lands. Reduced from thousands to hundreds, or already gone forever, the native population is no longer a factor in the future development of these districts.

Let the history of one small section of the race, as set forth by a Maori, suffice to illustrate the process of change.

" When the Ngaurukehu, a folk whose hair was light like the feathers of the hawk came to us, we worshipped a few good souls among them, but soon learned that they merely sought to grab our only living thing, the land . . . they took our land . . . This was done without the pangs

of realization, partly because of the men of good character and kindly consideration who afterwards supplanted us; and partly because we had not even dreamed of the result of losing our native bush and its birds, our lakes and their fish, our hero-worship and the faith in men.

"Ratana Ngahina, Utiku Marumaru, and Hamuera were the last recognised chiefs of the great tribe of Ngatiapa, whose homeland was Rangitikei, and whose last stand against their enemy Civilization was at Parewanui *Pa.* Surrounded by men of the good old pioneer type, they passed silently and unknowingly into oblivion about 1870 to 1880, leaving Parewanui deserted and Ngatiapa a lost tribe.

"The disintegration of the Ngati Raukawa tribe who occupied Manawatu, came as surely, but a little later. It began on the 12th December, 1866, when at Parewanui, in the presence of two thousand warrior representatives of various tribal owners, Ihakara Tukumaru signed the deed of cession to 'Good Queen Victoria, all that land lying between the Rangitikei and Manawatu Rivers to the Sea.' Included in the deed were specified 'the trees, the lakes, the rivers, the birds, and the fishes,' with certain reservations. Thus restricted and compelled to live more or less civilized lives, they were soon given over to idleness and dissipation. Memories and memorials alone mark the passing of great personalities about 1880 to 1890 or earlier . . .

"*Na te mea Pakeha me tana waipiro i ngaro ai te tangata Maori, me tona whaea te whenua*—in the pathway of civilization and its strong waters, our mother, the land, is taken from us, and the Maori people are lost forever . . .

"When the kindly Dr. Featherston, Dr. Buller, and Mr. John Gorst paid ten thousand sovereigns bearing the Good Queen's Face, and fifteen thousand Bank of New Zealand notes, showing the tattooed head of the despised Maori King for the Manawatu block, which is valued to-day at, say £10,000,000, they did more than buy the land, for with it they bought the heritage and the life blood of its owners." (Quoted from the *Manawatu Evening Standard* Jubilee Number, February, 1927.)

Such is a typical example of the depopulation that occurred over many areas, and of the feelings of many of the survivors in the matter of their own destiny. The close

Photo. by author.

DESERTED!

Here and there over the country may be found meeting-houses, broken, over-grown, and decaying, such as this, reminders of settlements passed away, of districts depopulated.

Photo. by author.

THE MODERN *KAINGA* (SETTLEMENT).

In districts long in contact with the *Pakeha*, such tiny hamlets as this may be seen. In the foreground is the house of the head man, the meeting-house is behind, and a garage and motor-car are significantly in the picture.

connection made by the writer between the passing of the lands and of the people is well worthy of notice. In this survey there is not the space to delve far into the complex history of native land legislation and its diverse problems. The student who may wish to find a comprehensive statement of the *Pakeha* policies and their results—the formation of Land Courts and Boards, the establishment of "titles," that is, the defining of the owners of the land blocks and their proportions of interest, the attempted "individualisation" by direct partitioning of each block (this entirely foreign to the communistic Maori), especially the wholesale land-buying policy of the Government—is referred to the reports of the "Stout-Ngata" Native Land Commission of 1907-1909, especially Report G—1c, 1907. However, it may be said here that not until recently have these policies included in their aims to any extent a due regard for the welfare of the Maoris, or desire to train and encourage them to work the lands for themselves. One statement from that report may well be quoted here:

> "The energy of the Maori is dissipated in the Land Courts in a protracted struggle, first to establish his own right to the land, and secondly to detach himself from the numerous other owners to whom he is genealogically bound in the title. And when he has succeeded, he is handicapped by want of capital, by lack of training—he is under the ban as one of a spendthrift, easy-going, improvident people."

The result of all this land-litigation, and especially the disposal of practically all native lands that the Crown and private individuals desired to acquire (that is, practically all the land worth farming), has been a bitterness and "numbing" of effort equal in many cases to that coming from direct confiscation of land in some districts after the wars. It is to these facts that we must look for the reasons why all that strenuous work activity of pre-war times which made Maori districts in contact with the *Pakeha* so rich in farms, orchards, and gardens, was not repeated to the same extent after the wars.

Yet in speaking of the non-utilisation of the native lands and their sale in enormous areas for European settlement, we must give the Maori credit, right from the war-period up to the present, even where culturally he falls short, for a great economic contribution to the progress

of New Zealand. Many tribes took road, railway, and bush-felling contracts, and Maori gangs under white supervision did almost the bulk of the rough labour over the North Island, and later a great deal of the skilled labour, especially shearing. This casual labour fitted in with the communal organisation, for the villages still remained the centres to which the population returned, or where they lived. Generally speaking, it can be said that the work effort of any community varied according to the economic urge felt.

Now that most of the native lands are gone and the proceeds spent, these in ways that indeed undermined the vitality and health of the people still further, causing often a deadening of the "will to progress," there has come about, especially in the new generation who had no hand in the deals, a deep sense of injustice, also a real suspicion of any *Pakeha* things "smacking of authority." The lands are now returning many hundred-fold to their white owners; the remaining native lands are for the most part poor, and all tied up by the complexities of Parliamentary legislation. Such has been the particular economic background behind the psychological outlook that has been viewed.

Before passing on to consider the process of change as it appears to-day, however, it will be well to complete this preliminary study of the transition by viewing it from one more aspect. In the analysis of the primitive life, it has been shown how the significant experiences and the intense feeling-states of the ancient Maori found spontaneous and often over-aggressive outlet in war and the subjective arts, while the spiritual values and the simple aesthetic tastes found more laborious representation in the objective arts and crafts. To prepare the way for certain facts of present-day Maori life, it will be helpful to note something of the changing self-expression of the race during these strenuous times.

There is little need to dwell on the more apparent disintegration of ancient culture forms, discredited both by evolution from within the race, and by pressure from without. Naturally many primitive crafts—fish-hook making, weapon grinding, and so on—disappeared with the innovations, while others such as housebuilding, carving,

and colour-work, became changed with new tools and materials. These too, with closer interaction, tended to fall into disuse, except for ceremonial purposes. Still more important are the changes in the subjective expression-forms, as values and standards of which they formed the outlet, became discredited or evolved. Language, song and dance, lore and ceremonial, worthy achievement in play and work, became complicated, and again an aspect of the tremendous diversity of the transition is seen in all the varied forms of individual self-expression and self-assertion that came with interaction.

However, the extreme stress of trader days tended to crush out all creativity, and the feverish assertion of war and later of commercial rivalry, gave little time for the younger generation to be interested in maintaining primitive ways. Brown says in 1845: "The cold, calculating spirit of commerce seems to have already frozen up the genial current of their souls."(5) Again, the ancient standards did not measure up to modern codes, and so the influential missionaries, and later, administrators and teachers, deemed it necessary to stamp out all links with heathen times. Rightly, too, from the viewpoint of newer values, for much of the clinging weight of the primitive culture was highly negative, and still tinged with the baleful influence of the *tohunga*, or else over-assertive, and sometimes falling far short of the decencies of modern society. But the ancient purposes and their expression were thus wiped out without, as has already been set forth, any adequate intellectual or ethical standards to replace them. Since, therefore, the inner meaning of white culture was not comprehended, the expression through new culture forms became highly artificial and baulking. So brass bands and gaudy dresses, white mannerisms and conventionalities became the fashions where tribes were in contact with civilization, but since these tended to lack spontaneity, they only further distorted the uncontrolled feeling-life within.

It is interesting to note here, as a preparation for later examination, the fact that in certain districts, up till very recently practically isolated from white culture, the primitive culture forms—dance, song, lore, craft—have continued to evolve gradually with changing standards and values, and still have, in a more positive and idealised form,

a real meaning for the present generation. However, in the process of interaction between the races, it is clear that where the old is disregarded and the new is superimposed, there is a dangerous inner strain. Again the reader is referred to the literature of the time for the actual pictures of Maoridom that will reveal these tendencies at work. At the middle century, the temporary solution was found in the frenzied re-assertion of war, and terrible indeed were some of the outlets sought for the pent-up "complexes" —cannibalism, barbarous slaughter, and revolting cruelty. The speeding bullet and the descending tomahawk were laden with accumulated animosities and grievances which few, if any, white men of the time could fully grasp.

Still another clear example of this baulking has been seen in the rise of religious cults during and after the wars. It is worth elaborating a little on these so-called native "heresies" which have embarrassed the *pakeha* churches, and which seemed to undermine so dangerously the work of the early Christian pioneers. For years missionaries had laboured, seeking to build up in Maoridom the established Western forms of religion to replace the primitive "*tohunga*-ism." Yet here there burst out in various districts great vital movements catching up the Maori mind and imagination—perverted, dangerous, primitive—but in their simplicity, ritual, methods, and government, giving a spontaneity of expression which no system imposed from without could afford. As the intense antagonism bred of war has died down, these cults have generally tended to lose their grosser elements, and have come more and more to provide a constructive basis of living. Some have passed away, some still have a scattered following, others are maintaining their place to-day alongside the *pakeha* sects; all provide real lessons, good and bad, concerning adaptation to culture forms thus superimposed, and are well worthy of sympathetic study.

It is impossible through this time of extreme stress to analyse fully the complicated expression forms of post-Maori war days. Two main tendencies have been at work, however—conservative and progressive. Baffled by the incomprehensibility of civilized culture forms, or coming in contact with only their worst and destructive aspects, some villages and many individuals have retired behind exclusive

barriers of suspicion and isolation to find more or less degenerate assertion through the fragmentary remnants of a primitive culture. True, the domination of religious leaders has re-directed the unstable feeling-life of many, yet the distorted or insufficient values conceived by these leaders have often proved as dangerous as they have been effective. Others, seemingly, have even tended to lose all that self-respect or self-control which is the saving heritage of man, content to live from hour to hour at the animal level of impulse and emotion.

Meanwhile, the more progressive units of Maoridom, apparently undeterred by past lessons, continue to strike out boldly to conquer the citadel of white culture. But rarely do they penetrate further than the artificial glitter of the market place below; so that they find a meagre assertion in what they evaluate as the true tests of *pakeha* accomplishment, the gain of wealth, drinking, smoking, gambling, billiards, jazz, movies, and so on. "*Mana Maori*" is dying, so that "*Mana Pakeha*" becomes the purpose and too often literally the end of life.

In this new century, the last great sections of the race, which so far have had little direct interaction with the white man, are rapidly entering the danger-zone—how much better prepared to face the clash of cultures will be seen in the analysis of the present.

Can this survey of the process of change be ended on any note of hope whatever? Certainly a tragic and gloomy picture has been presented, and it almost seems that the title of this chapter: "The Process of Change" might be altered to "Process of Extinction." Small wonder that a great deal of the legislation brought into existence by the government during the last century seems designed only to make smooth the death-bed pillow of the race. Small wonder that Archdeacon Walsh was moved to cry out at the beginning of the new century, after a life-time of work among the tribes: "The Maori has lost heart and abandoned hope . . . is sick unto death, and is already potentially dead."(13)

Nevertheless, even at this period of greatest upheaval and degeneracy and hopelessness, there was arising in parts of Maoridom a generation which did not easily accept the

doom foretold. Born into the new and changing environment, and with little knowledge of the past beyond the "mutterings of heart-sore old men," these younger Maoris were concerned chiefly with the immediate business of living rather than of dying. Certainly, the atmosphere of doubt and despair, in which the Maori youth was continually declared to be "the degenerate and useless descendant of a once noble race," crushed many and is still crushing many. Yet the new century has already revealed two important developments which seem to indicate that, just when the doom of the Maori was being sounded most loudly, there were new factors of transition quietly at work, potent if hardly recognised, and these actually now offer the hope of a real adaptation to the civilized environment, and a consequent revitalisation of the Maori race.

The first is that in spite of all the disruptive factors of transition, which found clear confirmation in the rapid decrease of population, in this new century the statistical returns of Maoridom indicate a steady increase of population. Secondly, and still more vital, is the fact that already an increasing number of the race are bridging the cultural gulf of the ages, overcoming the difficulties of communication, and breaking through the negative barriers of inferiority, suspicion, and resentment, and, in thus winning through to character and enlightenment, some are turning back to guide their people in the new path.

Actually, just twenty years after the fateful announcement made by Archdeacon Walsh, the Director of Maori Hygiene, Dr. E. P. Ellison, was able to state before the annual Conference of Native School teachers for 1928: "It appears to me that any risk of the extinction of the Maori race is now a thing of the past." However, the full implications of these remarkable developments will be the theme of much of our further study.

* * *

It is now possible to summarise the review of the Past so far made. The aim has been to prepare the way for a true interpretation of the Present as a moment in the transition.

The broad viewpoint of racial development has been maintained, yet the analysis has taken into account the

peculiar nature of Maoridom and its change as distinct from the reaction of other primitive races to civilization. The writer has sought to picture the coming of the Polynesian voyagers to New Zealand; the nature of the primitive life which was evolved during more than four centuries of isolation within the simple environment; the coming of the white man; the interaction that has taken place, and its effects upon the Maori people.

So far the survey is an analysis of facts quite available to the student, though little attempt has ever been made to interpret them from the psychological and sociological viewpoints. It has been difficult to cover the vast mass of literature relating both to the ancient life and the historical period, to get at once a concise, and perchance, a more fundamental conception of the underlying tendencies. These principles, too, have necessarily been very generally sketched, and little attempt has been made to relate them to the facts, since they are past and gone. But now that a living point of time is taken—the present—the meanings will have vital significance. The broad principles just outlined, linked back as they are with the facts of the ancient life, will now be linked with the actual facts of to-day. The survey of the Past will be used to interpret the Present.

PART II.

THE PRESENT.

I.

THE RACE TO-DAY.

"Where once the swarthy chief held savage sway,
The sun of progress sheds his brightest ray."
—Thomas Bracken.

"You collect our genealogies and our histories, our arts, our crafts and our lore, you love to handle our skulls and to dig up our bones—but you never touch our necessities!"
—A Maori Chief.

WHERE must the student go for his information as to the life of Maoridom in these modern days? If records are sought, it will soon be found that the facts available are very meagre. Certain statistics may be gained from the "Year Books" and the various government departmental reports, from Land Court records, mission reports, and the like. But apart from several books written late in the last century or early in this, devoting one or more chapters to the Maori, and a scattering of essays, and newspaper articles, there are few reliable references.

This does not mean, of course, that no one is interested in recording the life of the Maori race. But, as already emphasised, it is almost exclusively to a study of the ancient culture that writers, both *Pakeha* and Maori, are devoting themselves in the attempt to comprehend and preserve the facts of old now rapidly being lost for ever with the passing of the older generation. Meantime, this backward look in the realms of ethnology, anthropology, economics, and the various other scientific studies, has tended perhaps to obscure the fact that the study of the living Maori is really far more important, so far as the future destiny of Maoridom and of New Zealand generally is concerned.

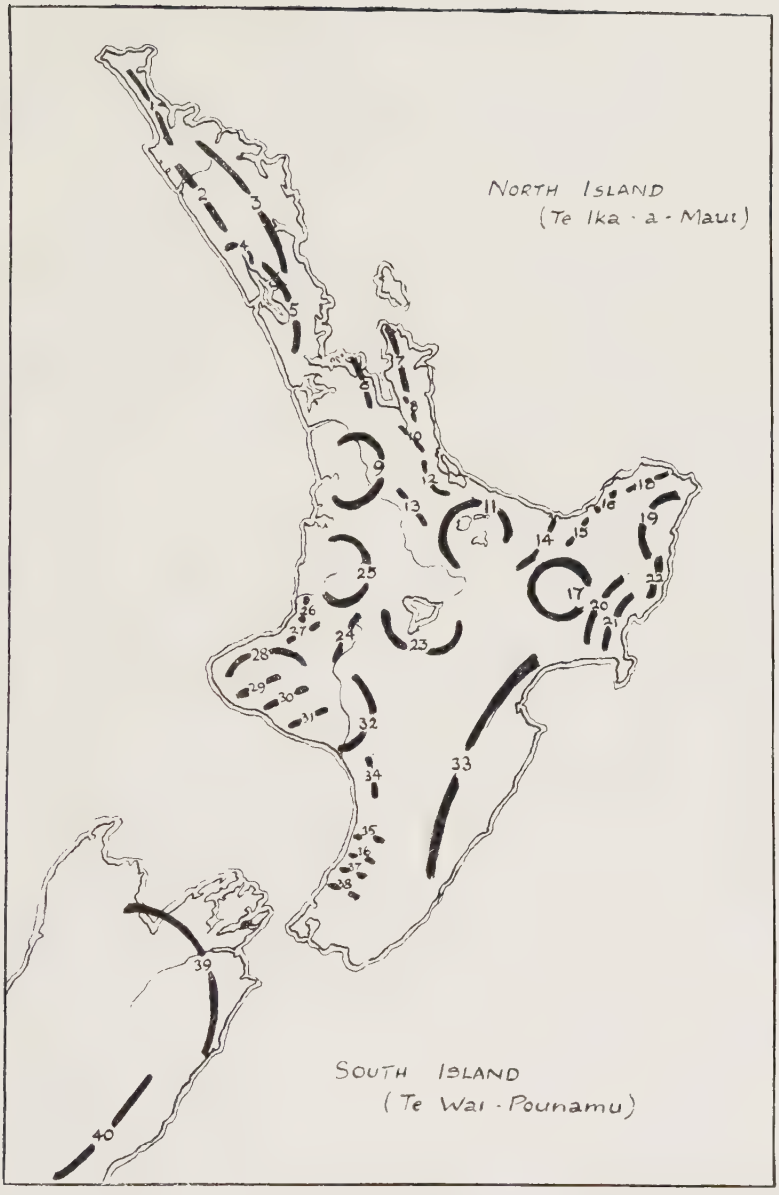
It is due to this lack of record then, that one of the most difficult tasks in preparing such a survey as this, is to discover the actual facts of Maori life to-day. The student must pass out from his library to study his brown-skinned subject at first hand. It is true that much valuable information may be gained from white people who have

contact with the race: from officials, teachers, churchmen, settlers, traders, and so on. Also it is possible to catch here and there in the crowded cities a glimpse of the Maori —perhaps some family in from the bush, clad in heterogeneous garments, wandering the busy streets; a few dark-eyed children cooped pitifully in some narrow alley; a smartly dressed half-caste living as a *Pakeha;* or a handful of young men eager for knowledge in the University. But inevitably the student must venture out, perhaps pack on back, leaving behind not only town and railway and even road, but also his "superiority" as a white man, to gather facts and impressions at first hand. Gradually out of the apparent chaos of ideas arrived at by direct questionings, by chance observations, and unexplained intuitions, some interpretation will emerge. It is by such a method that the writer has sought to understand the Maoridom of to-day, especially by keeping in mind the meanings of the past as already presented. True, to enter really into the inner heart of the race would need a life-time of intimate contact and of sympathetic as well as scientific study. However, in a more general analysis such as this, it is hoped that some measure of order and clarity will be found.

The most arresting feature in any review of the Maori people to-day must be the steady increase of population, as revealed in each succeeding statistical survey. It might even be called astounding in view of the decadent tendencies that have resulted in the rapid transition from ancient to modern manner of life. Certainly up to the end of last century, every well-informed student seemed sure that the race was inevitably doomed, would vanish, leaving a temporary and diminishing strain of native blood in the white race. Even in 1906, when the five-yearly census showed an increase of over four thousand people, it was declared with confidence that this was due to a more accurate survey, and that the decay was still going on everywhere.

> "Finality has now been reached, and the next census will show that the Maori population, instead of increasing, has been diminishing all the time . . . it must soon reach the vanishing point." (13)

But each succeeding census, so far from revealing a continued decline such as marked the tragic nineteenth



MAP SHOWING DISTRICTS OF THE PRINCIPAL MAORI TRIBES OF TO-DAY.

1. Te Aupouri
2. Te Rarawa.
3. Ngapuhi.
4. Uriohau.
5. Ngati-whatua.
6. Ngati-paoa.
7. Ngati-whanaunga.
8. Ngati-maru.
9. Waikato.
10. Ngati-tamatera
11. Te Arawa.
12. Ngaiterangi
13. Ngati-haua.
14. Ngati-awa.
15. Whakatohea.
16. Ngaitai.
17. Urewera.
18. Whanau-a-apanui.
19. Ngati-porou.
20. Rongowhakaata.
21. Aitanga-a-mahaki
22. Hauiti.
23. Ngati-tuwharetoa
24. Ngati-hau.
25. Ngati-maniapoto
26. Ngati-tama.
27. Ngati-mutunga
28. Taranaki.
29. Te Atiawa.
30. Ngati-ruanui.
31. Ngarauru.
32. Whanganui.
33. Ngati-kahungunu.
34. Ngati-apa.
35. Muaupoko.
36. Ngati-raukawa.
37. Ngati-toa.
38. Ngati-awa.
39. Ngati-awa.
Ngati-kuia.
Ngati-rarua.
Ngai-Tahu.
40. Ngai-Tahu.
(Scattered through the South Island.)

1

2

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4

TYPICAL EVOLUTION OF A MAORI SETTLEMENT.

Ohinemutu Point, Rotorua, with Mokoia Island in the background.

1. A very early sketch, from Grey's "Polynesian Mythology."—2. An early photo. (about 1870), with the remains of the sunken *pa*.—3. About the end of the century, showing the first Maori Church.—4. The Point to-day.

century, has apparently proved the impossible. The population, in this present generation at any rate, is in the aggregate steadily increasing. Certainly, the Maori over some districts is rapidly passing away, but this decay is more than compensated for in others. A progressive table of population figures is very interesting.

Year	Number	Year	Number
1769 ..	120,000 (estimate)	1901 ..	43,143
1858 ..	56,049	1906 ..	47,731 *
1874 ..	45,470	1911 ..	49,844
1886 ..	41,969	1916 ..	49,776
1891 ..	41,993	1921 ..	52,751
1896 ..	39,854	1923 ..	53,560

*First accurate census.

In December, 1924, the figures showed 54,229, and March, 1925, showed 54,450. These figures included half-castes living as Maoris, but not those living as whites. These latter were estimated in 1921 to be 4,236, making the whole native and half-caste population at that census 56,987. This figure is our real means of comparison, for at the 1926 census the Maori population was calculated on this comprehensive basis. An extraordinary rise was shown to 62,781. The Government Statistician, in commenting on this in the "Year Book" for 1927, remarks: "The position is the more satisfactory in that it presents an almost unique spectacle of a native race living with a white race of overwhelmingly superior numbers, and yet able to preserve in no small degree its own individuality and strength." However, there are some who would still doubt the accuracy of these figures, owing to the very great difficulty of collecting true information and data. To really test the position it will be helpful to turn to certain vital statistics as well.

In 1924, the number of recorded births * for the Maori population rose over previous years to 1,246. In 1925 this again rose to 1,716, being equivalent to 31.20 per 1,000 of population, which is a rate 47% higher than the general birth rate for New Zealand. As against this, in 1924, deaths totalled 773 (1920 showed 913). In 1925 this increased

*The statistics here recorded are taken from the *New Zealand Year Book, 1927*. It is well to note, however, that there is as yet no compulsion on the Maori people to register births, or deaths, so that these figures can be only an approximate indication of the tendencies.

slightly to 818, being equivalent to 14.96 per 1,000 population, a rate considerably higher than the general death rate of 9 per 1,000. This surely seems a most satisfactory indication of increase in the present generation.

Some illuminating facts as to the present conditions within the race, which will prepare the way for our further discussion, are seen by examining into the death statistics. Out of 4,205 recorded deaths in the period 1920-1924, 2,256 were under the age of 25, and 1,261 under 5. Easily the greatest number of deaths were in the first year of life, the rate of infant mortality being 131 per 1,000 among the Maori as against 45 per 1,000 among Europeans. The causes of death within the race to-day also shed light on this. Over the period 1920-1924, the most prevalent were recorded as:—tuberculosis of respiratory system, 857, pneumonia, 335, influenza, 238, typhoid, 121, other diseases of respiratory system, 114, bronchitis, 101, other tuberculosis, 103; old age showed 408, infantile diseases showed high, and other diseases were under 100. The whole trouble from the physiological viewpoint seems to centre at the respiratory system, this being especially the cause of the high mortality among the youth of the race. These figures will become clear when the home conditions, the early environment, and the attitudes of life within Maoridom are viewed.

Such then are the facts that the statistician can give concerning our problem. To-day there are 12,531 Maori children under instruction in primary schools, while there are more than 25,000 children under 15, or 40.02% of the whole race. Of these, 39.48% are males and 40.56% females, which seems to indicate a healthy tendency to offset the preponderance of males in the general population of 62,781, there being 32,730, as against 30,051 females. Do all these facts indicate that the Maori has started on a permanent increase?

The question may of course be asked as to whether these last facts of child population are not merely a temporary reflection of a greatly lessened (though still large) infant mortality as a result of more hygienic and less strenuous conditions in the tender years, coupled with the implications of an extreme statement already quoted: "It is becoming a rare thing to see a Maori above middle

age." On the other hand, may there not be permanent and constructive elements entering in which indicate a new lease of life for the Maori race, a truer adaptation to the pressing and diversified civilization of the *Pakeha?* Here lies the crux of the study. To seek the answer it will be necessary to view the various constructive and unifying tendencies at work, and to weigh these against the disruptive and chaotic tendencies; to attempt to weigh the social forces that are testing out the present generation and that are surely deciding the destiny of these thousands of brown-skinned children and of their race forever.

From the physical point of view, the Maori, living as in the main he still does in districts least cramped by civilization, certainly has the heritage of a free open-air life, and hardier and more natural conditions to develop the fine physical potential that is his as descendant of a splendid warrior stock. But this early promise has tended to be inhibited, not so much by actual physical evils of his environment, in themselves, as by the mental and spiritual disorganisation that maintains such evils without remedy.

It will be quite unnecessary, therefore, to dwell for long upon the less constructive facts of the environment, but rather to hasten on to seek the reasons why the Maori cannot or will not lift himself from these. For everyone who has had even a superficial contact with native life to-day is more or less familiar with the facts of degeneracy. A white man enters a Maori settlement. Usually women and children quickly disappear, and the men folk idling around have assumed a probable mask of suspicion and exclusion that effectively shuts the stranger from their inner thought-life. He sees the low reed huts or sawn timber shacks tumbled aimlessly among the maize patches, with muddy pigs of doubtful descent nosing the scraps and rubbish; some brightly-coloured garments flutter shamelessly in the breeze, which carries to his unaccustomed nostrils a full blast of weird and fearsome odours from, say, some strings of drying shark and shell-fish—so he forms his impressions of the Maori.

It will be sufficient here to sum up these less constructive aspects of Maoridom, that are in some measure influencing the vast majority of the race, with an apt, if

extreme, quotation from Scholefield: "For lack of system the communistic Maori is shut out of many markets. His grain is dirty with weeds. His potatoes are ravaged by blight. His milk is rejected at the factory because the *pa* pigs are allowed to wallow in the water supply. His cattle are tuberculous. His horses have ring bones, sidebones, and all the blemishes of hard riding. His stock is inbred and weak. What does it matter, so that he have enough to live on? There are rents coming in every half-year from the *pakeha* sections on the river. There is money from the sale of some new block to the Government. There is the billiard room at the cross-roads. And after all, if everything else fails, the *Kawanatanga* (Government) will send potatoes and flour for the winter. *Ka pai,* it is good!"(15)

There is no doubt that the present generation is suffering to the full the evil effects of transition. But to really comprehend the meaning of these conditions it is necessary to pass rather to the mental and spiritual life of the Maori of to-day: his thinking, his feeling, his willing, of which his behaviour and environmental surroundings are the expression, and upon which his future will depend.

In the survey of transition, certain great tendencies of change were shown to be at work. They could be summarised as:—the breaking down of the ancient social organisation, customs, and the traditional values of individual and tribe, also the thought-system that made them effective; the inability to discover any unified basis of life, or to penetrate the vital meanings of civilization, owing to difficulties of intercourse, physical and mental isolation, and a growing weight of misunderstandings; hence with the old overthrown and the new unrelated to life, there has been an extreme diversity and instability: the individual has tended to find more or less effective assertion through the remnant of ancient folk-ways, through the lower behaviour forms of modern society, or in mere animal impulse, as dictated by dominating leader or uncontrolled self. However, a note of hope was sounded at the end, when it was mentioned that an increasing number of the youth of the new generation are bridging the cultural gulf between the races, and give promise of leading their people after them. Such is a brief survey over the factors of change.

It is now our task, so to speak, to cut a "cross-section" of these tendencies; or, to use another metaphor, to glimpse, from the vantage point of the Present as a moment in the transition, over the moving stream of Maoridom: noting the swift places and the sluggish, the choked-up channels and the deep beds, the eddies, backwaters, and stagnant pools. In this chapter and the next, the aim will be to make clear as far as possible the conditions and forces to be reckoned with in the future development of the Maori people.

The first great factor of change was said to be the passing away of the old Maoridom in the clash of cultures. The meanings and values underlying the structure of the ancient life have tended to be swept away or have evolved from within, so that inevitably the structure itself has crumbled or been re-adjusted. Yet it cannot be said that the past is already buried, even though it has had a century and a-half of dying. Certainly, in a few districts, and in the case of some individuals, to outward appearances this may seem so. Also, it would appear that, even in the remotest areas to-day, the lore, art, and custom of old are preserved merely in fragmentary and modified form, and much of that liable to die out with the passing older generation.

Yet a more sympathetic penetration into Maoridom will always produce surprise, perhaps even amazement, at the tenacity of survival of much of the ancient culture. The Maoris are still "looking back to their ancestors."

Certainly there is an extreme diversity in the extent of survival, and in the particular aspects surviving. However, one common link remains as yet little tested. The difficulties of communication and accumulated misunderstandings, together with the need for a medium of expression in the daily life-experience, also of assertion in the face of the negative weight of *pakeha mana*, all have preserved as a living thing the Maori language. To most natives, the English language is even yet a foreign tongue. Now, too, that "Maori" has written form, and an increasing literature may be read in the native tongue, there is an added stability. Already it has been mentioned that the native language has evolved. The average conversational tongue of the *pa* to-day is certainly offensively

modernised to the lover of the ancient speech. Nevertheless, as Best says: "Here we encounter in a living language the figurative expressions and quaint sayings in which are preserved the mentality of uncultured man. Here are the fossilised thoughts of people of past ages being uttered by persons of our own day."(1) Within the circle of Maoridom, the language is a strong and vital connection with the ancient life. Even where English is spoken fluently, it is generally regarded as useful only outside Maori domestic affairs. "I speak best in English about *pakeha* things, but best in Maori about Maori things," said a very well educated native concerning this. However, to most natives, English is still a superimposed "second" language, with associations often bitter and humiliating, and hence wherever possible rejected for the spontaneous intonations and gesture of the native tongue. Recent statistics have gauged that Maori is the language adhered to strictly in over ninety per cent. of homes from which children attend Native Schools. In fact, a large number of the older generation have no real knowledge of English.

In view of this it may be surprising at first sight that little of creative literature exists in the native tongue as yet to express changing aspirations and problems. A sympathetic student here senses many conflicting factors: the maintenance of a preference for oral tradition, the stress of change, fear of *pakeha* ridicule, unpleasant associations of pen and paper, shame in view of language debasement, and the like. However, it is an unfortunate fact that where Parliamentary reports give in detail the reasoned opinions of native representatives upon affairs of state, the thought-life of the Maori at home concerning his own problems, hopes, ideals, expressions of his deep-feeling soul, remain practically unrecorded. From this aspect, one of the greatest losses of the transition has been, not the destruction of much of the ancient culture in itself, but the non-preservation of the evolving culture.

It is natural, as a result of the maintenance of the native tongue, that the thought-life of old still should have many vital meanings, though the values and standards are often very much evolved as civilization has caused them variously to be reorganised. The ancient ceremonial and lore even yet control much of the energies of Maoridom

Photo. by Dominion Museum.

ANCIENT CRAFT WORK IN MODERN TIMES.

Weaving the beautiful *taniko* patterns for a garment. Note the general meeting of old and new in the environment.

Photo. by Frank Duncan & Co.

THE EVOLUTION OF CRAFT WORK.

The side figures on this meeting-house show distinctly the influence of European sculpture. The hands are five-fingered, instead of the conventional Maori three fingers. Also, the white-painted gable-boards and bell are innovations.

to-day. The heritage of poetry, song, dance, and tradition is still passed down within the tribes. Especially that part of custom and belief dealing with the dread unknown is heeded to-day—spirit conceptions, black magic *(makutu)*, death, and the like. All colonials are familiar with the *tangi,* or obsequies for the dead, the *tapu* of historical areas and burial caves, of ancestral relics, and so forth. Beside the potent dread of the unknown, and its corollary, fear of darkness, a certain amount of the ancient *tohunga*-ism survives in rather dangerous form, though no longer the esoteric possession of a priesthood, but rather more scattered to become general knowledge. It becomes very real to the *Pakeha* when natives refuse medicinal treatment, fear hospitals, interpret dreams and omens, will not fish in certain waters, and a host of other things, big and small. Only too often yet the Maori "listens to the missionary, but obeys the *tohunga.*" Yet not the *tohunga* of old, grim guardian of spirit secrets, but probably some charlatan who sways the emotions of his circle of followers, and, without comprehension of their true import, dabbles not only in the spiritual realm, but also dictates things political, economic, and educational, with a view usually to increasing his own *mana,* and especially his material benefits. When found out, he usually retires on the proceeds!

However, among the more enlightened folk, much that was once fearful, repressive, or rigidly customary, has now lost its negative significance, but is maintained in idealised form to fulfil a positive function of self-assertion and as an outlet for tribal and racial pride: the ceremonials of greeting and eating, the *tapu* of chiefs, craft-ritual, the dedication of houses and food stores. Thus the ancient customs of hospitality are still largely adhered to, and the Maori host and hostess of to-day, no matter what their circumstances, would, to quote a Maori, "spend the last penny to provide for the guests, and it almost amounts to a crime to have a scanty table." At times such as the visits of Royalty and other distinguished travellers to the Dominion a special opportunity is given to glimpse something of the extent to which the ancient heritage is still maintained and treasured within the tribes, as well as to speculate upon the thinness of the polish of civilization. Still, apart from this idealisation, much of the negative mysticism can be

sensed among the race, and, especially among the more ignorant people, tends to have dread significance even to-day.

There is really no space here to detail the extent to which the expression forms of olden days—folk-tales, chants, dances, customs, play-forms, arts and crafts—have meaning still in Maoridom, or to discover in what ways these have been modified both by *pakeha* expression-forms and by new and spontaneous variations. Many interesting studies could be made of these, and the whole field of Maori problems would be opened up very quickly by such research. However, to many *Pakehas* who know something of the ancient culture, the passing of the old forms is a great loss and the modernised forms are exceedingly distasteful. Thus the dances of to-day are called "degenerate"; the characteristic chants, with the wailing abandon and the monotonous quarter-tone changes, are practically forgotten; the ancient flute and trumpet have long since been replaced by imported musical instruments; the beautiful carvings on gable-boards and the like may perhaps be replaced by grotesquely-painted birds and animals in impossible colours, and each fiercely-glaring ancestor may have his name prosaically printed upon his weathered figure. Some would ridicule the modernised forms as mere decadent, spurious, invented things, not to be encouraged. But this is surely a wrong viewpoint, for these evolving forms of creation in dance, ceremonial, and crude representation are really the spontaneous and very real expression of changing, even if unstable, values and tastes in the various districts. None, especially the true artist, would ridicule the changing fancies and struggling self-expression of a growing child! Rather these forms are the result of growth, of the clash and fusion of cultures—even if less distinctive and beautifully executed than the ancient expression forms. They are the indices of transition development.

Still another important aspect of the survival of the past is the degree in which the primitive social organisation is maintained in many districts, especially those off the beaten path. Also, with this there remains a considerable pride and community of interest among the various tribes once so powerful, and the *mana* of chieftainship is still strong.

Here, again, there is an extreme diversity, for in the different districts the social order of the white man has influenced Maoridom differently. It has been shown in the study of the primitive life that the old time Maori community had little place for the highly developed social and moral forms of modern society. No complex civil government existed, property other than certain personal possessions was communal, family privacy there was little or none. To-day, in certain parts of Maoridom, this simple organisation is still maintained to a large extent, either behind barriers of physical isolation in the distant bush lands, or sometimes behind more formidable barriers of mental isolation even in the midst of *pakeha* settlement. A recent report of the Presbyterian Church native work says: "One thing we have to contend with is the communistic social habits of the Maori. Nowhere does the ancient communism of the Maori maintain to-day as in Tuhoe. These people still think and move *en masse*. The most private domestic affairs are brought to the meeting-house and discussed and settled by the tribe. Everyone is a member of the tribe rather than a separate entity, and anyone who refuses to go the way of the tribe is considered a bad Maori."

As a contrast to this survival of the ancient order in the most isolated district in the North Island, an example could be taken of an experiment in communal living being worked out in a district where the Maori people have long been in contact with civilization. The causes of isolation in this case are psychological, since the settlement stands almost in the heart of a white township: chiefly the realisation of the tragic results of uncontrolled interaction with the *Pakeha*, the impossibility of individual competition in work markets, and especially rankling animosities from the Maori wars and land confiscation. To the *Pakeha* who is privileged to enter the enclosing fence, the first impression is of well kept paths and flower beds, a fountain and rustic arches, and a magnificent hall capable of holding everyone for the communal meals, their morning and evening devotions, and their general activities. Dotted round are neat houses, some plain, some following ancient architecture, all sanitary and well-kept, with electric light generated by the power-house, which also supplies a hot

and cold water service throughout, and the steam heat which is used for the bulk of the communal cooking operations. It is a week day, say, and the men folk are all sawmilling up the river. But the women folk and children are busily engaged in the daily tasks, housework, gardening, weaving, sewing, and doing other ancient and modern craftwork. Not so many years ago one hut stood on this site. To-day it contains many families, and a number of orphan children, dwelling together in a more or less self-sufficient and harmonious community. Physically it is alongside the *pakeha* settlement, with its hotels, billiard saloons, race-course, and similar attractions, yet living a life unto itself behind the mask of isolation directed by its head. As will easily be judged, such a group could only have been got together and maintained by a leader of very high *mana*, whose vision and whose word would be absolute law throughout, and this is so. With all its possible shortcomings in *pakeha* eyes, it really is amazing how these people work, play, and worship together, maintaining only necessary contact with the whites, and, behind this barrier of exclusiveness, find apparently a pride of race and ancestry and a considerable degree of individual happiness. The contrast between them and the more static groups of their fellow tribesmen living out among the white farming and township population is most challenging. Thus it is seen that the maintenance of the ancient communal organisation is not always the result of lack of contact with civilized social forms. Here, again, is a most interesting field of study awaiting the efforts of students of sociology.

One other aspect of the ancient social order which is still maintained to a considerable degree in some districts is the *mana* of chieftainship, particularly as a rallying point for tribal pride. True, in many cases the worth of noble ancestry has dwindled before more modern standards of worth; stocks once pure have been infused, often with white blood; or else men of lesser rank have far greater influence, as a result of religious or economic leadership. The grey-beard of Maoridom is often looked upon as a "back number" by many of the more "advanced" of the younger generation, just as in white society. Yet, especially in these times, when the *pakeha* administrators have placed upon chiefs certain responsibilities with

regard to the communal welfare, many of the hereditary leaders still wield considerable influence. Also there is a seeming continual call upon the various tribes to send representatives around the country, here to a conference or opening of a meeting-house or memorial, there to present a petition or celebrate some event with a *hui*, or feast, and elsewhere only too frequently for a *tangi* (funeral ceremony), and it is generally the leaders of greatest *mana* that attend these. Certainly, where a chief holds to-day the right of leadership as a result of character and initiative as well as through ancestral lineage is his power a great and potential means of guidance in the life-activities of his people. Even where the ancient social organisation may be evolving rapidly before the pressure of modern institutions, the Maori to-day generally looks in his community life to a leader rather than to an abstract law, is guided by a strong personality rather than a code of behaviour.

In this short study of survivals, an attempt has been made to show how far the ancient life is still meaningful in the Maoridom of to-day. It has been seen that the first great tendency of change, namely, "the breaking down of the ancient social organisation, customs, the traditional values of individual and tribe, and the thought system that made them effective," is very far from finalised. Our study of the primitive life was therefore certainly justified as a necessary preliminary to an understanding of the race to-day. The Maori is still to a large extent "a child of yesterday."

Is it possible for the Maori ever to leave the past behind, to cast the ancient heritage aside, and build his life upon the same foundations as does the *Pakeha?* As yet we are not ready to answer such a question. Nevertheless there are Maori folk to-day who declare that the native lives or dies with his past. Especially do many of the older generation adopt this attitude. To them only doom can come upon their people in forsaking the ancient beliefs and customs:

> "Our ancestors introduced them to meet specific contingencies: they proved successful, and hence become a part of our national life—they are not a mere clinging to the past. They are our soul, our *punga* (anchor); cut us adrift from them, and we are like the canoe of which the paddlers have ceased rowing." (12)

There is a poignancy about this firm and fateful stand against the unknown terrors of the Way of the *Pakeha*, so characteristic of the Maori nature, that some day, perhaps, will move bards to sing and poets to rhyme. One after another these older folk are leaping into the dimness of the *Reinga*, the abode-of-spirits, not only mourning the kaleidoscopic changes in the new order, but also seeing nothing but decay and desolation for those of their people, who, heedless of their warning, are plunging into *pakeha* ways. Too late now to overthrow the invader—their race must pass away—naught remains but the dirge of death!

"The land trembles and quakes,
Gone is the moon,
The stars fall from the sky.
Alas! Alas! Grief is ours!
Deserted the land outstretched;
The thousands of our tribesmen sleep
Their last long sleep——."

Thus is passing the old order—whether or not for ever we shall consider in our further study.

II.

THE RACE TO-DAY—Continued.

> "We are now witnessing an ethnic and cultural metamorphosis of the Maori population, in which each generation represents a distinct step in a new direction."
> —*Pitt-Rivers* (16).

IT is time now to leave these backwaters and overgrown pools, and to glimpse out over the wider currents of change within the race to-day. For our further study will show that more and more the ancient order and the limitations of its thought-life are tending to be overthrown, especially in this new generation of Maoridom.

Year by year, those last remote back-country districts, which so far have been isolated by physical distance from white contact, are being rapidly opened up. The foot and pack trails are being widened into motor roads; the sawmills drive further and further back into the heart of the bush-lands; the representatives of State, School, and Church extend their *mana* into every settlement and have a hand in all phases of native life. The Maori cannot hold aloof anywhere from change by separating himself. More and more he is being caught into the whirl of progress, into the hustle and bustle of modern life, and only by finding a way of living and a justification for living in the new order can he survive permanently.

Complexities of civilization press in—division of labour, competition and monopoly, rights and duties, private ownership, standards of wealth, a multitude of new customs, interests, and lines of activity—breaking down physical and mental isolation. As new modes of transport are opening up the remoter areas, even the conservatism of the older people is being broken down, and as fresh experiences crowd in upon the daily life through *pakeha* schools, shops, churches, picture-shows, sports, music, and the like, even those who frowned before are intrigued. So *pakeha mana* increases at the expense of Maori *mana*. Especially is the rising generation tending to reject the older values of life,

as compulsory schooling is being introduced even into the most backward settlements.

As a typical example of this change, we might glance at an isolated village, twenty years ago little affected by white contact; now a thriving agricultural settlement. The picturesque church and schoolhouse stand among the sawn-timber cottages and reed *whares* (native huts). The road is overgrown and rutted, 'tis true, but several motor cars and the tradesmen's delivery vans now manage to negotiate them in all weathers. Among the garden patches are still the low-roofed food pits of old, and several carved and weathered meeting-houses are in use, besides the corrugated iron hall with its dance-floor. Everyone seems busy, but no extreme time-stress is apparent, while *tangi* (funeral) and *hui* (feast) are welcome diversions, fully appreciated. There is very little direct contact with civilization as yet in this out-of-the-way district. But though thought-life here tends to be very primitive still—ancient superstitions and newer mystery-cults hold powerful sway—the values and purposes have changed very much from those of old, and the expression-forms have evolved accordingly. Yet language, lore, ancestral tradition, song, dance, ceremonial, and even the more objective arts and crafts, as carving, mat-weaving, decoration, flourish. So far, in comparative isolation, a selective process has been going on. The useful aspects of white culture have been to an extent adapted to Maori purposes—varying from needles to haystacks!—and have improved the conditions of the communal life. Maori *mana* has not yet been greatly shaken, except in the case of the younger generation. But this state cannot be maintained much longer. Already the forces of interaction are steadily at work—witness the school, the church, the store, the dance-hall, the motor, that are already in the sketch. The transition is proceeding rapidly.

In all this interaction, how are faring those folks who are seeking actively to bridge the cultural gulf, and to adapt themselves to the new order? In the review of the process of change, it was seen that the main cause of disruption and degeneracy lay in the fact that, while the ancient driving forces of the racial vitality were being destroyed, the Maori, apparently, was unable to "discover any unified basis of life, or to penetrate the vital meanings

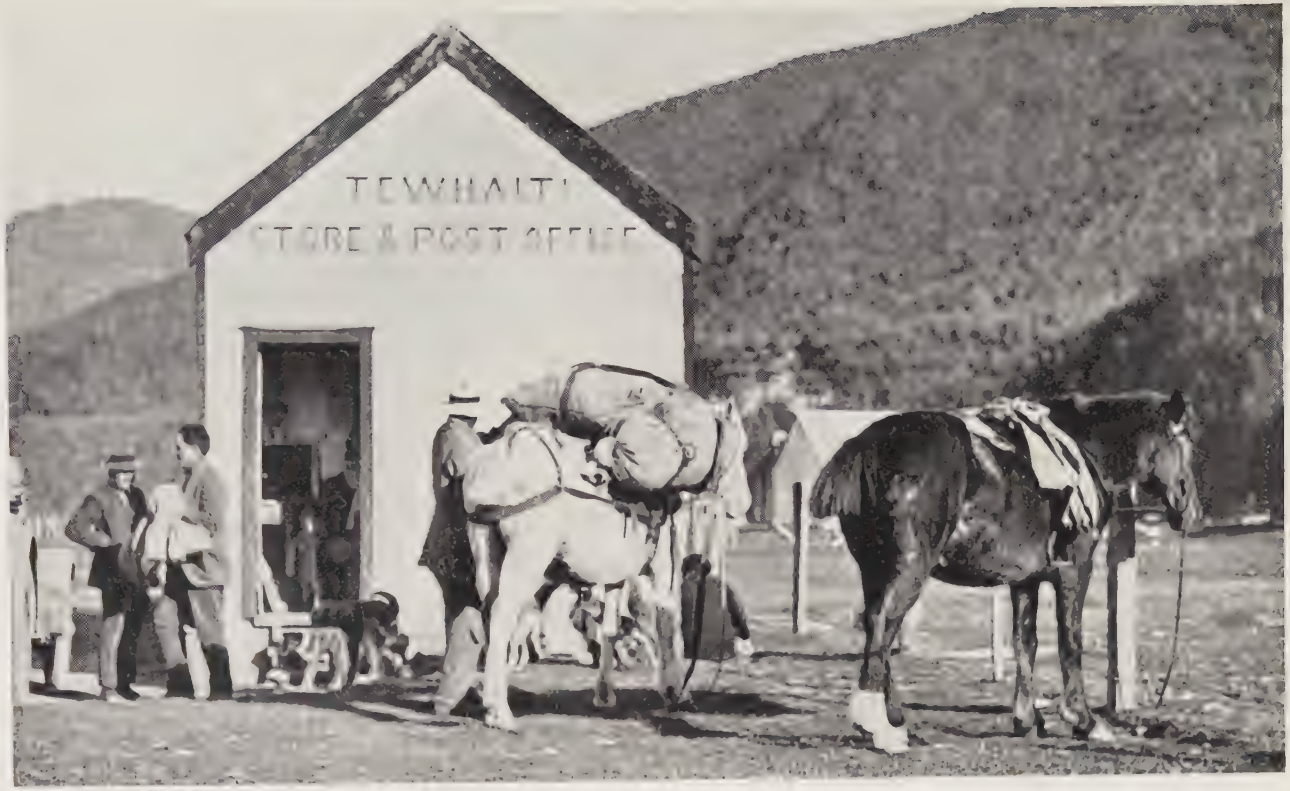

Photo. by "Auckland Weekly News."

OPENING UP THE BACKBLOCKS.

The penetration of civilization to the bushlands is symbolised in this Urewera scene.

Photo. by Dominion Museum.

"GOSSIP HOUR" IN THE SETTLEMENT.

The freedom of taste in dress is well shown in this study.

of civilization, owing to difficulties of intercourse, physical isolation, and a growing weight of misunderstanding." It is now our task to examine more fully the meanings of this struggle to survive in the new order; especially to find, if possible, what are the stumbling blocks that beset the Maori in his approach to the *pakeha* society of to-day.

Already it has been seen that the barriers of physical distance are being broken down rapidly. We may therefore pass on to a group of facts which may be summed up in a most suggestive term that is used to-day by a group of American sociologists in their study of race problems. It is founded on the age-old cry of distrust and fear: "Keep your distance!" This term is "social distance."

A Maori and a *Pakeha* meet—on the street, in train or tram, in backblock township, in the heart of the bush. Physically they are together. Mentally they may be poles apart, neither comprehending nor desiring to comprehend each other's place in the scheme of things. On the other hand they may be close friends, having, beneath certain physical differences of race, interests, tastes, human qualities in common, and a mutual understanding and respect. Or there may be any degree of "distance" between these extremes. What, then, are the factors that make for this "social distance" in Maoridom to-day, and how far can they be and are they being overcome?

The first group of facts to be considered are those centring round the physical characteristics of Maori and *Pakeha,* mainly the colour distinction, and the cast of countenance. Professor R. E. Park, of America, says in relation to this: "The more marked the racial differences, the more intense is the racial self-consciousness, and the greater the social distance that separates." This physical variation of race is a very real cause of segregation in New Zealand, though certainly it is less serious than in other countries. Especially where the individual Maori has little of the negroid appearance, and the cast of countenance approximates to one of the many European types, or where the lighter brown Polynesian complexion or *pakeha* infusion is marked (that is where what has been termed the "racial visibility" has been lessened), is there little race feeling. Also it is a fact that the great majority of white folk are not called upon to mix with the Maori, or do not have such

opportunity; especially among these, a strong sentiment exists that no prejudice should be allowed to separate the races. However the cultured Maori, living in European fashion, meets little antipathy in the ordinary walks of society, and this fact is remarked upon keenly by visitors from countries where racial feeling is bitter. Still, it was interesting during a recent period of government administration, where a native representative in the Cabinet held a portfolio as Minister for Public Health for New Zealand to note that a number of people questioned the wisdom of such a step. Also, the educated Maori knows well how many avenues of activity in *pakeha* society are practically closed to him because of racial distinctions.*

This question of physical characteristics introduces a most important phase of Maori-*Pakeha* relationships: namely the degree of intermixture between the races. The destiny foretold by many students as inevitable for the native people is a rapid absorption into the white stock of those who might survive the stress of transition. Is, then, the social distance being broken down to-day by a steady fusion of the races?

Already, in the study of the change, mention has been made of the lack of intermarriage between Maori groups; also of the close intermarriage within each dwindling group. These have led to a dangerous congenital decay in which the pure Maori stock has tended to die out. It has been indicated, too, how in early times there was much interaction between Maori and *Pakeha*—those pages in the history of Aotearoa that for the good name of the white race are best passed over quickly. The results are seen to-day in a weakening of the old Maori stock on the one hand, and a general diffusion of Maori blood into white veins and white blood into Maori veins on the other. Some would even say that the new virility in the native race comes from this admixture. Probably it has had quite an effect, yet it must not be thought that the Maori people as

* Recent cases of discrimination that have been aired in public have been the exclusion of Maoris from a hairdressing saloon in Auckland, and also from a hotel in Rotorua, both calling for severe comment from the "Akarana Maori Association." An interesting example that has come under the notice of the writer is that of certain stores on the East Coast which actually have a double scale of prices, one for *Pakeha*, the other for Maori!

a whole are rapidly fusing with the *Pakeha.* Statistics show that after a century and a half of contact there are 7,352 of mixed blood, of whom 3,116 live as Maoris.* While this estimate must necessarily be approximate only, and probably errs considerably on the small side, it can be taken as a fair indication of the position to-day. The tendency, too, now that colour questions are becoming more prominent in social relationships, certainly seems to be for less intermarriage to take place, though serious complicating factors of morality and the like enter in here.

In the coming years there must be a further diffusion within the Maori people of the white strain, yet it is generally rather indistinguishable, and the important fact to be noted concerning the present is that in only a small percentage is the white strong, and the vast mass of the Maori people are keenly conscious of their native blood and ancestry. The barriers of race are not, therefore, being broken down by an easy fusion between the two stocks. Still it is interesting to find that some say where this fusion takes place it is but the re-uniting of a common strain long separated, and certainly "it is no little thing that a native race of high vigour and intelligence should show capacity for blending with a pure Nordic stock without sign of deterioration."†

The writer cannot finish off this aspect of the physical interaction of the New Zealand peoples without some reference to a further problem that is arising in the Dominion as in certain islands of the Pacific. Let part of a newspaper cutting set forth the position:

> "It is a fact that in Wanganui and many other parts of New Zealand, Maoris in poor circumstances engage themselves to Chinese market gardeners, included among the workers being women and girls . . . Marriages have already taken place between Chinese and Maori women, but a worse feature is that illegitimacy is being reported."

*1921 Census figures (1926 not available). Previous figures, 1896—5,762; 1911—7,060; 1916—6,750.

†Mr. O. W. Williams in *Sydney Morning Herald.* This whole question of "miscegenation" of races is as yet but little studied. The only accurate method of approach to the data will be through the collection and study of genealogies in the different tribes. See article by Dr. Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), "The Passing of the Maori," in *Transactions N.Z. Institute,* Vol. 55, 1924.

It has also come to the writer's notice that an Indian strain is being infused into Maori blood by itinerant Hindu hawkers who stay in native villages. Thus are added further complications to the Maori problem as a result of the new movements of the races of the Pacific.

Leaving now the difficulties arising from the physical marks of race which cannot be changed, it will be our task to examine a far more important group of factors which are tending to maintain the social distance between Maori and *Pakeha,* but which are capable of modification.

From the viewpoint of inter-racial relationships, it is interesting that one of the greatest barriers to close contact between native and white folk is a difference in sensitivity to odours and tastes. Thus, while the Maori people have accepted most European foods, they have in varying extent retained many of their ancient foods and associated habits. One of the greatest Parliamentary representatives of the race is said to have carried around often, in his pocket, strips of dried shark. Any *Pakeha* who has attended the feastings of *hui* and *tangi* know the full force of this barrier. Not that these tastes and customs are in themselves necessarily wrong because they offend the white man: the Maori has every right to his own likes and dislikes. Yet he surely dooms himself to segregation and even contempt so long as he indulges some of them. Still, they are tending more and more to be displaced by European delicacies and habits—*waipiro* ("stinking water," the Maori name for liquor), cakes and sweets, tobacco, and the like, which even if harmful are nevertheless polite!

Clearly this difference in sensitivity to odours and tastes is merely conventional. It is no result of heredity, but a matter of social custom and habit. It is only one of a number of factors in Maoridom that are making intercourse with the *Pakeha* difficult. Already we have seen how the racial heritage is still a living thing to-day, though in fragmentary and evolved form. But when its elements are examined carefully it will be found that the real barriers to racial amity do not lie in the deeper aspects of the ancient culture. Rather the lore, tradition, art, idealism are considered most worthy and valuable by the *Pakeha.* It is really the cruder and more superficial things that

cause the differences—variations in etiquette and mannerisms, crudities of dress and habit, unhygienic customs, ignorance, lack of cleanliness, and the like. Wherever these are overcome, the Maori can meet and is meeting with the *Pakeha* on a basis of mutual respect in the deeper things of life; the racial masks of enmity, suspicions, misunderstandings, are moved aside, and the common humanity emerges. However, the problem of breaking down these particular barriers is no easy one, even though they are seen to be the more superficial elements in the social heritage, and capable of modification.

Still another phase of this social distance is concerned with the question of communication. Already it has been shown how the Maori people still cling tenaciously to the native language, and, even where they speak English, tend to do their thinking in Maori.* Also in the preliminary examination of the intellectual problems of transition, the Maori tongue was shown to be "concrete-affective-subjective"; while in modified form sufficing for the circle of native affairs, it must always be utterly inadequate to express the complexities and abstractions of a much more fully evolved language. As a result, the average Maori is rarely capable of sustained thought even where his English vocabulary may be considerable, and his grammar and pronunciation perfect. Also it is a fact that where the average Maori of to-day can speak English, it is only too often the terminology and conversational topics that are generally associated with the lower levels of white society that are most familiar. *Pakeha* slang and profanity they usually know well, since their contact with white folk is still in the main with the less cultured classes. The result of these factors is that the thought-life of Maoridom is still very primitive, and this makes even the well-educated native chary of venturing into a reasoned conversation; for to speak English is to voyage upon a sea of unknown expanse, with rocks of ignorance, artificiality, and ridicule, liable constantly to cause disaster. Few have so great a mastery of English that they can not only venture to utilise boldly the metaphor and idiom of *pakeha* culture, but actually infuse the colder language with some of the poetic and emotional spirit of their own tongue.

*Refer to Page 61.

Without the key of language, therefore, the true cultural secrets of civilization cannot be unlocked. Also it is worth noting here that these secrets are not pent up in heavy tomes and dim libraries. They are the living, human standards, idealisms, modes of behaviour, and attitudes of the cultured *Pakeha* in his daily round. An important fact in this problem of communication that may well give thought to enlightened white folk is summed up in a statement made to the writer by a Maori woman of high *mana*: "My people never know your best people; they think all *Pakehas* are like those yonder"—and she pointed across the river to a white country township with its picture-shows, hotels, billiard saloons, with eloquent gesture. It is only too true that the vast majority of the race have little opportunity ever to come to know and understand the way of life of the true *Pakeha*: his home, tastes, conceptions of right and duty, his artistic expression, his spiritual appreciation. The more intimate forms of association between the races, as friendships and mutual working for common ideals are as yet the exception, and these "fluid bonds" are in the ultimate the only influences that will break through all these barriers to bring the races together. Until then both *Pakeha* and Maori must always be "wary, and often a little lonely, in one another's company."

Together with these barriers arising from the difficulties of communication, there has accumulated, during the years of interaction between the races, a growing weight of misunderstanding and sense of separation. This has tended variously to send the Maori wandering into strange paths, to make him shrink back into mental and social isolation, or to arouse resentments, suspicions, animosities, grievances. Thus group or individual may come even to despise utterly their own blood and heritage, and either seek to emulate the *Pakeha* by flourishing all the visible externals of civilization—accent, cut of clothes, modern fashions, gramaphones, limousines, and the like—before their admiring, envious, or disapproving fellows; or, baulked by the artificiality and repression of such a life, indulge secretly or openly their uncontrolled feeling-states in primitive forms of behaviour. Again, it is impossible to penetrate far into Maoridom without discovering rankling

troubles over land confiscations, unfair treatment, legal compulsion, rents, race-discrimination, and a thousand other instances of friction and misunderstanding.

Added to these difficulties in Maori-*Pakeha* interaction, another group of factors help to maintain this social distance. These arise out of the lack of unity, and community of purpose within Maoridom itself. Not only is the race rent through by these diversities of civilization, but further disruption and inner strain comes from the maintenance of many of the former tribal jealousies and feuds. This unpleasant heritage from ancient Maoridom is a very real handicap to-day when any question of racial unity, *kotahitanga,* is considered. As a result, each tribe or district, even each village, has sought to enter into the secrets of civilization as it came to affect them, in comparative isolation from other units of the race. Such ventures as the King Movement and the Maori Parliament, which aimed at bringing together the tribes to preserve the *mana* and uphold the common interests of the race have always been shattered on the rocks of self-interest, bitterness, or pride. However, it is true that there are encouraging signs of a closer unity within the race, or at least a preliminary regrouping of the tribes around new interests, religion, politics, especially sports, thus breaking down these obsolete differences. Every year, increasing numbers of conferences, conventions, sports gatherings, and the like, are being held, and, as will be seen more fully later, a stronger race-consciousness and race-community seems surely emerging.

Certain other disruptive tendencies which mark the struggle of the Maori to advance his standard of living might be referred to, as revealed at work to an unhealthy degree in the daily life of some settlements. Thus it will be remembered that in the ancient order, the social good was practically identified with the individual good. To-day, the individual self-assertion even tends to be anti-social as a result of the over-negative stresses of transition. Cut-throat competition, class distinctions, and a blind resentment of any who seek to rise above their fellows, especially if it is at their "expense" (as paying fees to a native doctor, or a storekeeper for goods!), also a scornful condemnation for those who fail in the struggle, illustrate the disruption and instability. Thus for a Maori to know

more of white culture seems to bring suspicion, as it is not good for one native to have to feel inferior to another, whatever his negative self-feeling in the face of a white man's *mana* or haughty aloofness. But for a native to allow himself to be inferior—"who has enough contempt for him?" Such manifestations of inner strain in settlement, tribe, and nation, find no outlet in the spontaneous and exhilarating assertion of war as of old. As a result they tend to permeate and embitter all manner of relationships within the Maori people, and do not always find so harmless an outlet as, say, on the football field.

We have now reviewed some of the complex physical and mental factors that tend to maintain "distance" between Maori and *Pakeha*. It has been seen that there are unchangeable racial traits that tend to cause aloofness. However, the main barriers are mental and social, and these are not only capable of change and evolution, but actually are being constantly re-organised as in different districts the interaction with civilization is taking place. The important fact from the viewpoint of the future destiny of the Maori people is that behind all the superficial and changing masks of Maoridom there are real and potential human capacities for adaptation, there are personalities that are precious material for the building of human society.

The survey so far has revealed something of the extreme diversity, disruption, instability, and inner strain that has come as a result of the clash of cultures, and in the process of change that necessarily followed. A complex civilization brought, so as to speak, in scattered ship-loads across a vast expanse of sea, presented in heterogeneous forms by many types of people, influencing different districts in different ways, overthrowing or fusing with the ancient culture in various directions, all without adequate leadership and guidance—this has resulted in a chaotic heritage, an extreme individualism. Maoridom is rent through and diversified in a manner that becomes more apparent and alarming the more the facts are examined. That we have been able to analyse the difficulties and stresses of the present and show them as capable of some remedy, does not in any way mean that there is either the desire or the knowledge to remedy them. The doctor may diagnose, but

Photo. by "Auckland Weekly News."

Photo. by W. Eyre.

MEETING-HOUSES, OLD AND NEW.

The influence of *Pakeha* architecture and materials, also the loss of the art of carving, are apparent from a comparative examination of shape, gables, roof, windows, etc.

Photo. by author.

THE CHANGING ENVIRONMENT.

Where the ancient forests of the Manawatu have been cleared to form the rich farm-lands of the *Pakeha* the traveller may see here and there by the roadside such tiny native settlements as this, usually built around a meeting-house, where live the remnants of mighty fighting tribes of old.

unless he prescribe and the prescription is carried out, the patient may die.

Already in the survey it has been shown that in some districts the once teeming villages are now but a memory; whole tribes have already disappeared. The cruder shocks of transition have been overwhelming—the Maoris have lost their lands, their health, their urge to live, and disease, vices, ignorance, degeneracy have taken tragic toll. Elsewhere a remnant of tribes once powerful have been seemingly struggling, yielding, passing away.

It will be remembered that in the study of the survival of the ancient culture, a picture was presented of the fatalistic attitude of many of the older folk, who see nothing for the future but destruction for their people with the destruction of the ways of old. There is another equally poignant attitude that has arisen in some parts of Maoridom where there has been long and varied contact with civilization. Here the struggle has been overwhelming in its consequences. The ancient heritage has been swept aside as no longer meaningful: Maori *mana* has no worth. Yet their frantic efforts to survive have apparently been ineffective, there seems surely no place in the new order for these folk. The Maori cannot become *Pakeha*. The long conflict, strain, lack of direction, social distance, have resulted in an utter hopelessness, a questioning of the very worthwhileness of the struggle. "*E taea te aha?*" (What can avail?)—this is their fatalistic attitude. The result is generally a sullen exclusiveness from white intrusion, an animal-like, purposeless existence from day to day, a blunt unwillingness to better the physical environment or the mental standards of the settlement, especially an indifference to the well-being and uplift of their children. "Behind is fenced off. To the front it is divided off. To the right hand a precipice. To the left a morass. That is why we stand still!" And when, in individual or group, this suspension of the impulse to go forward comes about, when the vital urge is impaired, there is but one future—tragedy, degeneration, death.

In speaking thus of the mental outlook that is to be found still in parts of Maoridom, it must be remembered that native folk have no monopoly of such an attitude—it is

to be found universally where the stress of life comes to "numb" intolerably the expression of the human spirit, as for instance in slum areas of big cities. Yet it may be well to note here that some students of the Maori would deny that this "psychological" reason for decadence has validity. There are plenty of economic and medical reasons for the falling off of the Maori population, it is said; the "hopeless" attitude discussed by Archdeacon Walsh is merely an echo of the plaints of the older generation; the Maori will never "lie down" before any set of circumstances. However, the writer is here speaking of a tendency, as we shall see, that marks mainly the old and passing generation. Also, it does not necessarily imply a conscious, willed "lying down," but rather a dulled and aloof attitude to life that enables disease, bad conditions, indulgence, to take easy toll. Concerning the "economic and medical" reasons for decadence, it would really seem that there are two lines of approach to the same facts: the first through the external data relating to land-selling, confiscations, environmental conditions, illnesses, epidemics; the second through the mental attitudes involved.

Thus a native mentally "baulked" as a result of sense of inferiority, land grievances, tribal policies of aloofness, and vividly conscious of the fearful toll taken by fever and consumption, would certainly tend to have less "functional" resistance to possible disease—the factor which is so much the concern of the psycho-analyst to-day. In discussing, therefore, the tendency towards a "decay of the vital urge" and "lowered resistance" there has been made merely the "psychological" approach to the economic and medical factors of decay. The validity of this approach has been confirmed by the writer through discussion with the foremost authorities on Maori matters. "The Maori," says Elsdon Best in his monograph on Maori agriculture, "seems to look on unsatisfactory circumstances with the mental attitude of a fatalist." A statement which emphasises both environmental and mental aspects may well be quoted from the Report of the "Stout-Ngata" Land Commission of 1907-09: "The Maori race is in our opinion in a most difficult and critical position . . . There are many tribes and *hapus* in what we might term a decadent state. They have lost the habits of industry of their ancestors, and they

have not acquired the habits of industry of the European in this respect, and they are looking forward to the future with no hope. The race in many parts of the colony has declined, and seems vital in only a few parts. What is to become of the Maori people?"

This sad phase of Maori life to-day might be illustrated by many practical pictures. One especially is vivid to the writer, where some ancient Maori settlements are scattered round a white township in a rather isolated coastal harbour. Interaction had at first proceeded very rapidly. The natives were receiving rents from up-river, and when money was scarce for food the fishing banks were always handy. But gradually the Maori realised that the old standards were slipping away and that the artificiality of aping the *Pakeha* and obeying his codes was causing degeneracy. Not that the codes of the *Pakeha* residents were necessarily exacting. It is only too true that many white people still discard their better principles when dealing with a dark race. However, the fruits of interaction are fully apparent to-day. The older people have retreated behind barriers of suspicion, resentment, and ignorance, and with but a remnant of their ancient tribal ways left, they await hopelessly the end. A half-century ago these people would have tossed off their clothes and died fighting against the *Pakeha*. But now, if they take even his sheep, or tell what they think of him, or assault him, the weight of *Pakeha* law descends upon them in a myriad ways. If, too, they were to remove their clothes now, they would fall sick, and the *Pakeha* would come with medicines and stretchers, to carry them away to a mysterious hospital. If they died no spirit-land of old awaits them, but they have learned the vivid facts about the after-world of the *Pakeha!*

Those not so old, who have appreciated something of the benefits of white ways, leave their dirty fern *whares* early, barefooted and with well-stuffed pipes, to congregate in the township gutter and shops, wagging their heads and chattering over a bag of cakes or a vivid blanket pattern. It is interesting to see how these folk like rhythmic sounds, bright colours, symmetrical designs—simple bases of aesthetic appreciation that reveal the primitive nature,

even though the spontaneous expression-forms of old are gone. Along the street may swagger a young fellow bound from the hotel to the billiard saloon, and (since it is movies or dance night) dressed in perfect fitting if somewhat startling European clothes. His patent leather shoes move to the rhythm of the latest jazz-tune, which he whistles, stopping now and then to toss a conventionality or a race-tip in Maori or English to a passing acquaintance. Then around the corner come the children from school. The younger ones, white and Maori, chase together; but the older Maori children are apart, as if conscious of racial differences. To-day, they have done sums and grammar, writing and drawing for the teacher, but now they must hurry back to the *pa,* for there is mat-weaving to finish, cooking to do, pigs to be fed and so on. Besides, a young chief is dying, though his relations will not let him be taken to the doctor; so there is a big *tangi* to prepare for, and a thousand friends of the family eat and drink a lot during a week or more. No school for them then at any rate!

But there is no need to enlarge further upon this transition picture, nor to delve deeper. The Maoris, for the most part, well realise the degradation and insufficiency of such a life. Spiritedly they discuss the reasons as they conceive them. But ever *pakeha mana* and social distance loom up to dominate action, and the hopelessness of the struggle to find a place in the new order overwhelms them. Just as surely as black magic, *makutu,* could of old extinguish the will to live, and cause sudden death in a physically perfect individual, so throughout the transition this state of change brings sure doom to the highly imaginative Maori.

Ka ngaro te tangata
Ka memene ki tawhiti—
"Lost are the people,
Dispersed and driven far away!"

It is necessarily in this examination of diversity, resulting from the peculiar course of racial interaction in Maoridom, that our study must become most gloomy. A moment's thought into the extreme complexity of even the social heritage that faces the growing youth in any modern

nation will emphasize the difficulty of the Maori in discovering a clear and comparatively happy way of life in this tangle of ancient and modern cultures. At first it would seem that no more tragic examples of the disruption within the race could be given than those already presented: the vain clinging to a meaningless past, and the stagnant hopelessness of those who have given up the struggle. But the way of resignation and surrender to the inevitable is never so hard as is the fight against odds, the dogged conflict against overwhelming forces. "*Ka mutu!*" (All is ended) is an anaesthetic, bringing a fatalistic peace, an animal content; to go on, to face the unknown, whatever the pain, and disillusion and terror in the attempt to find a place for self and children—that is far more difficult! But it is the way of human survival and progress.

To find, therefore, any basis for the building of a new Maoridom, it cannot be into these dried-up beds and backwaters that we must look, but rather out over the moving stream of Maori-*Pakeha* interaction, in all its diversity and disruption, with its forces of re-organisation, coming both from the struggle of the Maori themselves, and the constant efforts of State, School, and Church from the *Pakeha* side. To-day, as has been clearly seen from the survey so far, there seems to be every degree of intellectual, moral, and aesthetical progress in individual and group. It would be interesting if space permitted, to follow out further the actual details of diversity that exist in Maoridom to-day beneath a surface appearance of tranquillity and prosperity; in individual and community life, in changing expression forms in music, art, dance and play, in ethical and other conceptions. Thus the two extremes of enlightenment might be illustrated in many ways. A recent newspaper cutting gives this item:—

> "For some time past a new Maori prophet named Wi Puku has exercised a considerable control over a large section of the Maori people around Whakatane. He has prophesied for Wednesday next an important event—that there will be located a huge diamond about the size of a sheep . . . His native followers have great expectations of wealth accruing from the sale of this huge diamond."

Consider with this, a few words of a Maori representative in Parliament, quoting at random from Hansard:—

> "I understand the purpose of Clause 2 of this Bill is to remove the difficulties created by conducting the purchase under the provisions of the act of 1913 . . . . You have to stipulate somewhere in the statute what should be the minimum price at which the Board should confirm a sale."

It is worth noting that many of these facts are not difficult to discover, when anyone is so minded as to want to know them. Thus the writer has just picked up a newspaper, and the following item is in it as sent over New Zealand through the Press Association (that this is no isolated instance of native problems being brought under the notice of white folk will be realised, when it is mentioned that the paper from which it is taken has seven distinct references to various aspects of Maoridom to-day):—

> "A matter exercising the leaders of the Maori race in Wanganui is the financial position of Maoris in various settlements. Frequently, statements have been made that Maoris in their *pa* life have not the worries of the *Pakeha,* and that the communal system predominates to a certain extent. The system still operated, but times have changed. Originally, sharing of products of the soil was an easy matter, but the sharing of flour, sugar, and other essentials of to-day that have to be bought and paid for is another matter. The sentiment, even among Maoris, is passing away, and there is an inclination on the part of many to get away from native settlements, and to endeavour to live in *pakeha* fashion in the towns. A great change in circumstances has been experienced on this side of the North Island, where for many years comparative wealth prevailed. Good lands have been sold, and the proceeds expended in luxuries, and to-day many Maoris are facing a rather indefinite future. Many of them get into debt, and creditors who sue get little further in the matter of payment. . . ."

However, it is impossible for us to proceed further into this analysis of the position of the Maori race to-day without examining a most important group of facts which have been held over purposely in the survey. The study up to here has dealt with the changes of Maoridom from within, the clash of ancient and modern cultures, the factors that tend to maintain "social distance," the extreme diversity of change. But in the survey of the transition it has been seen how, parallel with the struggle of the Maori to enter into the heritage of civilization on his own account, the external forces of State, School, and Church, which have

been superimposed upon the primitive social institutions, have sought to aid in the struggle. Therefore, to understand fully the interaction of Maori and *Pakeha* to-day, it is necessary to view these external forces of reorganisation at work. This is our next task.

So far the survey has tended to be particularly gloomy and even tragic. It may be that some would consider that the writer has taken too despondent and magnified a view of the troubles of present Maoridom. "What else can you expect after a mere century and a half of contact? Take a long view. Give the Maoris another hundred years, and you will find that they will have adapted themselves all right. These changes take time." Such remarks have been made to the writer.

Perhaps the best answer to such would be to quote from a letter received from a student friend who has lived among and is studying the Maori people of the Thermal and Lake District: "Whatever is happening to the Maoris generally, these tribes seem to be dying. I'm disbelieving statistics these days . . . I've talked with a number of the older chiefs and they say that all the efforts they make are so much gashing their heads against a stone fence—'if we had our own little farms we would work; most of us do;' and they've told me the work they're being employed on for wages (only enough to live on); 'useless trying to save, so let's eat, drink, and be merry'—that's the gist of their conversation: and they know perfectly well that they're dying off like flies. Two typical families to-day—grandmothers, eighteen and fourteen children respectively, fifteen of them married, five children altogether, and two of these frail little mites that simply won't live. Five whole villages in the district are completely extinct since 1918—a few survivors at Whaka' and Ohinemutu, but that's all, and the villages as villages are gone and the land owned by the *Pakeha*. Ngongotaha, Waititi, Awahou haven't half the native population they had. Question—have they been absorbed into other parts, or . . . ?" What, then, will a century hence mean to these people? Give time for adaptation?

It would seem that the decadence and difficulty that is the lot of the present generation of Maoridom makes the present a crucial time in determining the racial destiny.

The drama is moving rapidly: well might a native thinker prophesy that: "The Maori is going to his doom—dying of a broken heart." For in a very real sense to-day, the heart of Maoridom is "broken." Also this instability must continue, even unto doom, unless and until some heart-salve, some basis of unity, is found within the diversity, on which individual and group and race may build a new life-structure.

Before examining the efforts of the *Pakeha* to aid the native race, it will perhaps be well just to make this important statement clear, for individuals, and groups, and races alike must be adapted to the circumstances of their life—there must be a balance with environment. The urge of the human spirit to express itself fully and harmoniously cannot be baulked or disrupted for long, without being impaired. If the Maori is to survive, there must be found, and that soon, some basis of unity in the individual, and community in the group, round which life may be organised. To take an extreme example—the Maori wars. We have already studied the intense repression and strain of early interaction, which at the time were only released in ferocious warfare. Self-preservation became the central motivating force and the common purpose of enmity against the *Pakeha* brought unity over great areas of Maoridom. But it is quite apparent that war in itself was not able, and is not able to-day, to provide any fundamental basis of adaptation to the new order. Nor is any such basis to be found through a tenacious and unprogressive hold to a past no longer vital, or behind a sullen mask of isolation and exclusion—two attitudes that have been examined already. It will be in the positive and constructive interaction of the races, rather than in negative and uncompromising aloofness, that the student must look for avenues of self-expression, and the conditions that will give that normal balance and stability without which the individual Maori cannot achieve usefulness and a measure of happiness.

What, then, of the efforts of the *Pakeha* to aid the Maori to find a new life and purpose of living for self and children?

III.

THE *PAKEHA* AT WORK.

> "Any drastic change in mode of living and in culture-form imposed upon them (a primitive people), from outside, and not evolved or modified by themselves, leaves them ill-adapted to the innovation."—*Pitt-Rivers* (16).

So far, the general impact of civilization upon the race has been considered more from the native viewpoint: the changes and difficulties that have come in the life of Maoridom as a result of the effort of the natives to bridge the distance between themselves and the *Pakeha.* It is now our task to examine the impact of civilization more from the viewpoint of the *Pakeha;* to see the influence of the great institutions of civilized society at work among the race: the results of their superimposition upon primitive institutions, and of their efforts from outside to aid the Maori in his life-reorganisation.

In the survey of the old-time Maori, some brief glimpse was given of the general organisation of the social group, of education, and of religion—the tribal and communal order, the assimilation of standardised folk-ways by each generation, and the dominance of an all-powerful priesthood, all typical of a primitive people. The great controlling force of all life was the *tapu*—

> "This mysterious scheme of fear and hate,
> The basis of their savage Church and State."

In the ages of developing civilization, far from ancient Maoridom, these three aspects of society had gradually assumed shape as permanent, powerful, and highly organised institutions—State, School, and Church respectively. In the process, each had gathered around itself a vast complexity of historical meanings, codes, curricula, creeds —with little uniformity and little sympathy toward uniformity; each had inter-acted and become inter-related with the others; each came to have a *mana,* a weight that must necessarily break down and supplant ultimately any primitive and undeveloped institutions.

In the clash of cultures during the last century and a half, the State, the School, and the Church, have each played and are playing a most vital part. The general order of their rise to influence has already been indicated in the study of the period: first, the impact of the Church, symbolised in the landing of Samuel Marsden in 1814; next, the impact of the State, symbolised in the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840; and third, the impact of the School, symbolised in the Native School Acts of 1867 and 1871, when the more spasmodic mission efforts were co-ordinated by Parliament. Already, too, it has been necessary to refer often to the influence of all three in their historical context. It is now possible to see the results of their working in the life to-day, to seek out the constructive and disruptive tendencies involved in their activities; especially to see what assurance for the future guidance and well-being of the race may lie in their efforts.

* * *

The first real contact of the Maori with the State came through the Waitangi Treaty. In that, a number of chiefs declared their allegiance to the Crown, to the "Great Mother," Victoria, and the *Kawana* (Governor) invested with her *mana*.

Already some of the facts of interaction between the Maori and the rapidly organising Government in the colony have been viewed. It is not in any way possible to trace here the full development of the State policy toward the native race. Rather, this is the task of the student of history and economics—the materials, if not yet the workers, are there. Every session of Parliament to-day has on its agenda sheet many new points, large or minute, to adjust or expand existing legislation: relating to land policy, justice, health, schools, village conditions, local government, satisfaction of grievances, appointments of commissions to investigate particular problems. Again, in pursuance of the policy of representation in State affairs, certain leading Maoris, elected by democratic franchise, take a high and honoured part in the Councils of the Nation. Also a permanent Government Native Department, and various branches of Departments, as Education or Health, regulate, through their officials, the carrying out of State policies within the race. The Prime Minister of the

Photo. by "Auckland Weekly News."

"*HAEREMAI!* WELCOME!"

At Rotorua the Duke and Duchess of York receive a welcome from the Maori race according to ancient custom.

Photo. by author.

THE MAORI AT WORK.

Around many hamlets the communal land is made productive by communal labour. Maize, fruit, melons, and vegetables are grown for human needs, and for the animals the hay is mown and stacked.

Dominion himself is at present acting as Minister of Native Affairs. Whatever other political issues may divide the various parties of the House of Representatives, it is a happy fact that on questions of amelioration of the race, all parties are unanimous in their support. It was this splendid attitude of the State that led Lord Burnham, on the occasion of his recent visit, to say: "I always think that the reconciliation of the Maoris to the British rule and to the New Zealand Government is one of the finest trophies of British civilization."

Without doubt, the official attitude of the State to the Maori is one of the brightest features to be recorded of *Pakeha*-Maori relationships to-day. Take a typical utterance of goodwill, made by the Prime Minister himself: "As far as the character and personal worth of the Maori race is concerned, it is undoubted. On every occasion when a call to rally round the Empire has been sounded, they have always been amongst the first in our population to come forward and do service for this Dominion. In the last war, when assistance was sought, our Maori people stood shoulder to shoulder alongside us; and in addition to all this, this people has produced some of our foremost statesmen, men who in this House and Parliament have proved themselves to be amongst the most honoured and progressive of our advisors."

This enlightened attitude of good-will by the State is reflected in an intense loyalty of the natives to the Crown, and to the Nation. Quite apart from an understanding of the full implications of democracy, or of any complex statutory machinery, and quite apart from their sense of grievance, of unfulfilled aspirations, and the like, it is inherent in the race to honour the recognised leaders and the *mana* investing them. To the King and Royal Family, the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, are given their unswerving allegiance. That they should be honoured by a visit from such leaders is a source of pride and devotion. This personal loyalty is well symbolised in the recently unveiled memorial of the Arawa Tribe to the Maori soldiers who made the supreme sacrifice during the Great War. The monument is decorated with busts of royalty, and is surmounted by a figure of King George V. Before it, in

defensive attitude, stands a Maori warrior with weapon poised.

Apart from this general attitude of goodwill, it will be well now to consider more specifically the influence of the State in Maoridom. Certainly, when the activities of the Government to-day in various spheres of the life of the race are examined there is considerable cause for satisfaction. Just to mention a few examples: the thorough organisation of Native Schooling; the activities of the Native Trustee; the Land Courts and "Trusts," also provision of capital for land-development; the appointment of Village Councils to control much of native affairs; the recognition of various native rights arising from the Treaty of Waitangi; the Maori Arts and Crafts Act, providing for the preservation and encouragement of native art; the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into grievances arising out of the confiscation of native lands after the Maori Wars. These splendid and tolerant measures, difficult as they are to put into operation in many ways, and complicated though they may be by the neglects, misunderstandings, and mistakes of the past, reveal the desire, if not the full capacity, of present State administrators to help and appreciate the Maori race to-day.

It will be apparent from the above statements that there are certain limitations to the influence of the State within Maoridom. Here really lies the crux of any examination of the interaction of civilized and primitive forms of social organisation. Two lines of difficulty may be seen. The first comes from the degree of vision and efficiency of the State itself in its attempt to grapple with the problems.

In so far as the good intentions fail to emerge completely into actual fact, whether through lack of scientific knowledge of the problems involved, through red-tape, or lack of the right personnel, the position is only aggravated. Fine words and noble sentiments cannot save a dying race —only a sympathetic and exhaustive diagnosis of the trouble, an adequate remedy found, and this applied with all speed and thoroughness. However, with this necessary reference to the very real limitations that come from the side of *pakeha* effort, it is now possible to consider an

important and difficult body of fact concerning the limitations in the response of the Maori to even the best-directed regenerative work. The question to be answered when any reform from outside the race is considered is: "How far is the native able to comprehend it and willing to accept it into his life?"

Take, for example, a case where the Health Department may require the abandonment of some ancient precedent or custom: the reconstruction of an unhealthy meeting-house, or the like. The Maoris concerned may or may not understand. They may have to be coerced, which will cause resentment and repression. They may refuse flatly, and perhaps be within their rights; then the machinery of government will have to add another little complication to an already fearsomely complex set of regulations. The administrative officers may meet a systematic propaganda of defiance and policy of obstruction, emanating from some crafty malcontent or power-drunk "prophet." Responsibility may be put upon some apparently comprehending leader, and presently this power is being wielded in unlawful and perhaps dangerous ways. These and a thousand other complications arising from the survival of ancient ways of thought and behaviour, from the failures of past administration and policy, or from present ignorance, indifference, or opposition, beset the path of the Government official in the execution of his work of welfare, even though backed by the weighty *mana* of the State.

Nevertheless the work of the various Government Departments is being increasingly effective, as a result of their temperate and sympathetic policy. It will be helpful to view some avenues of constructive effort by the State, and incidentally some of the problems will be made more clear.

Consider briefly the activities of the Health Department. The physical environment of even the most remote areas has changed considerably during the last twenty years. Through the activities of established Boards and Councils, through the Schools, through Mission efforts, as a result of the example of enlightened members of the race, homes and villages are being made more sanitary and healthy. Concerning the Maori attitude to these improvements, a

little bit of information casually told by a native showing the writer round a settlement is illuminating: "That home yonder is the only one without a chimney in which a fire can be lighted. We got permission to keep it standing for the older people, who, visiting us, like to be treated according to ancient custom." This illustrates well how the change to better conditions has in many cases been brought about by the *mana* of *pakeha* law, in opposition to age-old ideas. Yet even though many regulations for the uplift of life have to be enforced from without in some districts, it is well that the hindering conservation of habit and indifference is being broken down. Instruction in hygiene, the work of hospitals, doctors, and nurses, especially trained Maori girls, are gradually bringing enlightenment to homes still degraded, and hence hope for the children of coming generations. Suspicion of change and innovation are still strong in many settlements, and as has already been seen, *tohunga*-ism and much of the ancient sentiment of sickness and death still survives, making scientific treatment very difficult. For by the primitive Maori thinking, when the evil of disease or accident comes, the cause must be in the person stricken—such as a rash tampering with spirit laws—bringing irresistible and deserved retribution. And the older generation would still attribute the weakness and degeneracy of to-day only to the forsaking of *tapu*, without which the vital spark becomes *noa* (powerless), and hence the individual cannot flourish. However, the wise organisation of the Department, which by establishing Boards and Councils invests Maori leaders with the responsibility of exercising its *mana*, has proved very effective. It is said that the Maoris vie with one another to discover breaches of the regulations, and fines are imposed with splendid gusto. It is most satisfactory to find that a recent Health Department report is able to state: "The general health of the Maori people continues to show improvement. This is largely due to the changed attitude of the people towards preventive measures. Instead of the passive resistance of the past, there is now a spirit of hearty co-operation."

Another complex field of State activity concerns that biggest of native material problems—"land." From the economic viewpoint, the fact that the Maori race still owns

4,422,046 acres of land, or over 70 acres per head (17) gives the Government the right and the impetus to have a big say in how these lands are utilised. Also, most students are agreed that it is in the exploitation of this land that the Maori can best find a place for himself in the new order. Here comes in another important aspect of Maori development—" work." These two economic factors, " land " and " work," have been the concern of legislators from the first landing of the State representatives from the Old Country, and there is a vast accumulation of statutes, of legal decisions, and organisation, built up around them. In the main, the Boards, Courts, and Commissions which have been responsible for them throughout the past years have been concerned with the establishment of titles to land, the buying and selling of land, the individualisation of communal lands. However, our purpose in this study is not to outline or to be critical of these State efforts, but rather to view the attitude of Maoridom towards them.

Again factors of the ancient life and of the historical interaction complicate the situation. By the Treaty of Waitangi, the ownership of native land was to be determined " according to native customs and usages." Therefore the right to any particular block of land, established after long and painstaking examination of a host of rival claimants, might be vested in some hundreds of individuals, each with a legitimate interest in it as a result of ancestral possession, tribal conquest, or by the existence of some historical relic upon it. It has been aptly said that the Maori who was desirous of working his land could not do so, simply because he could not find his land! He might have so much share in this block, so much in that a hundred miles away, and again, perhaps, a fraction in the other island, and so on.

Such is the unique and acute problem of native land—the result of the attempts of *pakeha* administrators to give the communistic Maori a system of ownership entirely foreign to his social organisation, that is, to give an individual right in land. We have already seen its disastrous effects upon the Maori in our transition study of the passing of the lands and of the people. The Maori was viewed there as making an immense " work " contribution in the development of the Dominion in the employ of other people,

of Europeans who had acquired native lands either by direct purchase or through the Crown (these generally the best lands), or in Public Works, but owing to the deadlock of multi-ownership of remaining native lands, not being able to work these for himself. The only solution of the land problem seemed to be for the individual native to dispose of his "interests" in the various blocks to which his title has been proved by Land Court litigation for ready money. As we have seen, there are indeed bitterness and enmities to-day as a result of past policies of white administrators in regard to the ancestral soil of the Maori.

State dealings in land are taking an entirely new turn in this new century; the emphasis is changing from legal matters and purchase methods to the consideration of native welfare and native utilisation of the land as the primary "land problem." This excellent and long-needed re-direction of effort can be traced to the influence of certain outstanding leaders of the race. These men not only revealed by mouth and pen the land-troubles of the Maori, but also set out to experiment for themselves in their own districts in matters of untangling the land from its legal bindings and making it productive through Maori work-effort. Notably was this so on the East Coast, among the Ngati-Porou tribe, inspired by a succession of outstanding leaders, and aided by isolation, good lands, a fine class of white settlers, a far-sighted educational policy, and the encouragement of individual work-capacity. Their two economic "inventions" in land tenure, known as "incorporation" and "consolidation," are now being adopted as the basis of a new State policy for the solution of the land question; the fact that Maori brains have been able to solve the problem that has defied *pakeha* administrators for some eighty years being a unique tribute to native ability. In short, "incorporation" is the process of forming a group of owners in any piece of land, be they many or few, into a "land company," with an elected Incorporated Committee from the owners to administer affairs. This committee can either lease the land, or borrow finance which will enable the owners to farm the land for themselves. Thus the whole system of close partitioning of native blocks is done away with, and there is a large enough amount of

land to be farmed productively on behalf of the owners, who can live together in communal fashion with some stable basis of economic support. Where the natives farm the land themselves, say under a manager, they generally work for wages, and also, as owners, participate in the profits—thus individual effort and communal co-operation are both fostered, and the labourer is also the capitalist!

"Consolidation" goes a step further, for it seeks to draw together the scattered "interests" of the individual or family in various land-blocks by allotting each a definite area equivalent in value to the total worth of these and issuing a title of full ownership. Thus the individual, family, or "incorporated" group of congenial families gain a definite piece of land which they can work (this usually around some spot dear in ancestral associations), following which loans can be negotiated and sheep, dairy, or other farming equipment secured to enable them to go ahead in productive work. "Consolidation" is a complex and daring process of solution to the land question, yet the situation was such that there could never be a simple way out of the difficulties. Actually, it has taken nearly twenty years of patient experiment to "prove" its effectiveness as a final and all-embracing solution of the problem of multi-ownership—this all a tribute to the genius of its "inventor," Sir Apirana Ngata, M.A., LL.B., the leader of the Ngati-Porou and East Coast Maori Parliamentary representative, who not only initiated it, but has done the bulk of the vast work entailed.

To both these new land-systems State administrators have given a progressive legal sanction, and in the last few years the Native Land Court organisation has been officially co-operating. They are now being steadily applied over other parts of Maoridom, not without difficulty, of course. Actually the whole of the Urewera country has been consolidated, also the coastal area of Maketu in Arawa country; as the result, too, of historic meetings in February and April, 1928, respectively at the Bay of Islands and at Te Kuiti, the North Auckland and King Country tribes agreed to set in motion schemes for consolidation.

Yet these new and enlightened State policies cannot break down immediately the historical grievances over land, nor are the new solutions always satisfying or exclusive of

suspicion. "Too good to be true", "There must be a 'catch' somewhere." Confiscations, harassing litigation, the passing of the land, insufficient value given—these are by no means forgotten. So comprehensive an effort as has been made by the Government to settle confiscation grievances through the "Confiscations Commission" of 1927, which sat in various districts to hear everyone desiring to present claims, was certainly commendable. Yet it is almost always the case that in such attempts to cope with Maori troubles only those who came out on the "right" side will feel they have had a square deal! Few indeed are the Maori people who have not some blame for State dealings over land.

"The land is the only living thing—a mother that never dies," says a native writer. "They took our land and gave us drugs and trifling things which passed more quickly than the lives of men. They robbed us of the only two things that could save us—our land and our faith in men. Now the Maori is lost indeed!"

Not only in direct matters of land dealings do grievances against the State exist: the Maori claims that there is unequal treatment in regard to labour markets, the financing of soldier settlers, the laying of roads to outlying properties; he feels bitterly the imposition of rates on his communal lands, all tied up as they have been, the pressure of litigation and survey costs which he has had to bear to get his "interests"; and there are a hundred other points of friction. These tend to make the State a "fear and habit" organisation, and its rules and regulations become impositions, incomprehensible and unfair "repressions," only to be obeyed when backed by the weight of State retribution. The publicity of the Magistrate's Court, let alone of the Maori Village Council, seems to offend many not a whit. Thus the implications of citizenship are hardly recognised.

Before closing this discussion on the problems of land and work, it will be very helpful to examine shortly the incentives to work which are operating in Maoridom to-day. The Maori may have a clear title to his land, together with capital and equipment, but unless he has the impetus to roll up his sleeves and get busy, the whole Land Policy

of the Government and of native leaders is superfluous labour.

Perhaps the most difficult and dangerous person in Maoridom to-day is the individual who is living on his rents as a "landed aristocrat" for, freed from any stress, he is generally subject to many evils of "idle hands." Truly, work is necessary to the salvation of the race. "The gospel of work," earnestly writes a Maori leader, "is final, absolute, there is no alternative but for us to accept it. For if the Maori people does not accept it, and that soon, then as sure as Heaven is above us, it will die off from the face of the earth!"

In the study of the ancient life and of early transition days we have seen how the Maori of old time was certainly a worker—his life was full and busy, and he did his best in a "team." Much of his labour, however, was hardly "work"; rather it was craftsmanship, the joyous expression of his life-purposes; "work" in its true sense implies the loss of spontaneity, the expending of effort under stress of social demands, time pressure, and the like. The Maori had no regular "week-end" or "half-day", but when work was to be done it was done wholeheartedly; when visitors came, on occasions of feast and funeral, or on the approach of a hostile war-party, he "downed tools" and had his holiday.

But all this communal organisation of work was upset by the economic complications of the transition. Especially in districts where lands were sold extensively, or where the people gathered round some "prophet," was work-effort put aside—and the ceasing of work-effort has always brought degeneracy. What incentives, then, are driving the Maori to work to-day?

The great bulk of Maori "work" to-day is the result of extreme economic stress, and varies according to that stress. The possession of *moni* is the aim of all casual labour: without it, natives can be found in timber and flax mills, navvying, gum-digging, road and railway making, shearing, herding, fishing, scrub and blackberry cutting, coal-mining, potato digging, and so on for wages, or cultivating their tiny plots of maize, potatoes, *kumaras,* melons, tomatoes, and flowers for the markets; with it they are only too frequently taking life easy round racecourse,

billiard saloon, and hotel-corner. Others find their stimulus in competition with neighbours or in a religious fervour. But both depend upon a temporary enthusiasm, and in the latter case it is characteristic of the Maori to seek the eternal rather at the expense of the temporal. From these it is happier to turn to the more permanent and effective work experiments. Here and there a Maori posseses his own land and is making good through application and capacity. However, the most encouraging examples of work success within the race to-day are the experiments being made in communal co-operation, both in running large sheep-stations, and in maintaining co-operative dairy factories. Conspicuously this is so among the Ngati-Porou people of the East Coast, under the two land tenure systems that have been viewed, and a land-mark has been placed in Maori work-progress with the opening of their modern native-run dairy factory. In these experiments both the enthusiasm and the business acumen are in most cases supplied by some leader of vision, and co-operative effort is bringing success denied to the individual worker in competition with the white man.

Thus it is seen that the success of State efforts always must depend upon the response of the Maori to its benefits, as well as its own vision and efficiency. The will to accept the help of the *Pakeha* must be there, as well as a right attitude towards and understanding of what that help involves. In the light of these examples, it should be clear why there is no sudden re-organisation of Maoridom merely as a result of the desire of the State for this to come about.

Two other studies could well be undertaken here in the same way: the effect of the superimposition by the State of a complex legal system and juridicial code; also the result of giving a political representation and democratic franchise. Both these spheres of civil contact with Maori life would offer, if space permitted, fields for examination equally interesting with those already glimpsed.

The dangers inherent in all these State-imposed expression-forms of a highly developed culture is that they tend to increase the disruption of Maoridom: this by destroying the ancient *mana* and social organisation without

being assimilated into practical life, thus leaving both ill-adjustment and rankling sense of oppression. So long as the State has its way only by negative domination, however closely obeyed and smooth in working, there can be no permanent stability. Rather, to the Maori mind, the State will remain so to speak as one of the fabled *taniwha* (dragons) of ancient days—never satisfied, all-devouring, ready at any move of the native to spring upon him with dire retribution, liable to pounce ferociously round all sorts of corners, in fact, not to be endured. But whereas the Maori of old, living in constant terror of the *taniwha*, could desert those areas supposed to be his haunt, before this new Juggernaut, all-embracing and inescapable, there is no place of retreat save in death. Thus, too often, the influence of the State only adds to the disruption and repression within the soul of the Maori. There are real reasons why the Maori is so often "agin the government!"

It must be remembered in considering the impact of civilized institutions thus superimposed upon a primitive society, that the Maori has the permanent heritage of his life swept from under him. The heritage of the rising generations is unstable, even chaotic. Unlike the *Pakeha*, he has no clearly defined group of influences coming from home, school, church, employment, and the like, to mould him willy-nilly as a passive and passably behaved cog in the social machine. It will be only through a real growth of the moral and social consciousness of the individual, that the Maori will be able to appreciate and express himself freely through such institutions of modern society as the State. Until this is developed, the Maori will be no true Citizen within the State.

So that ultimately the effectiveness of the State depends upon the personal development of the individual native, upon Education.

* * *

The School is then, without doubt, the greatest practical influence that can be brought to bear by the *Pakeha* upon Maoridom. Such is the theme of our next study.

Again, it would be possible to lose the thread of our survey in a description of the historical background, and the widely-reaching organisation of native schooling. It will be sufficient, however, to note that the splendid system that is being administered by the Education Department to-day was created out of the more spasmodic though excellent pioneering work of the Mission Schools by the Native School Acts of 1867 and 1871. A rapid statistical survey (1925) shows that 5,589 Maori children at the primary grade are being taught at 128 village schools, 6,576 children attend mixed schools *(Pakeha* and Maori), and 366 are at eight Mission Schools. At the secondary grade, there are 536 young people attending 11 public and private high schools, and a small number are at the University and Theological Colleges.* It is quite apparent that only a very small number as yet, after fifty years of effort, are able to reach the post-primary grades. There is also a most important distinction between those who attend the Native Village schools, which are in the more isolated districts, and those attending the mixed schools under control of local Education Boards. It is to be noted, too, that the Mission bodies have not completely surrendered their right to have a hand in the education of native children. The denominational bodies which maintain schools are the Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Methodists, and Presbyterians; also, there are Mormon schools.

It is, perhaps, a little difficult to estimate the contribution of such an institution as the School to the race, particularly so in these modern times, when educational theory and experiment march, seemingly, far ahead of educational practice and organisation. We can be certain, however, that the schooling given to the new generations of Maoridom has produced a remarkable change, and has been and continues to be a potent factor in determining the whole outlook of the race. Without doubt its greatest success has been the "production of a more confident outlook on life." An interesting summary of the effects of education upon the Maori was given as follows at a

*Education Department report, 1926.

Photo. by "Auckland Weekly News."

THE RAW MATERIAL.

Children of a bush settlement.

Photo. by "Auckland Weekly News."

A SCHOOL IN THE BUSHLANDS.

Ruatahuna Native Village School.

conference of representative natives held in Wanganui at Easter, 1927:—

> "Intellectually the attitude of the race towards education was a revelation of the accumulated effects of civilizing influences. School attendance readily became one of the stages of the life of the Maori youth. Naturally well endowed with brains, the discipline of the school fostered with each successive generation the faculty of application, while the success of a few of their kind in the highest schools supplied fresh incentive and the motive of emulation. To-day no movement is capturing the mind of the best-thinking of the Maori youth so forcibly as that which aims, through the most suitable education, at equipping the Maori to take a fitting place in the life of the Dominion."

In turning now to observe more critically the position of the School in Maoridom, it will be impossible to venture into a detailed analysis of the problems of native schooling, which are as yet practically unexamined from an experimental viewpoint, especially so since experienced teachers differ widely in their opinions as a result of personal practice. Nevertheless, it is possible to comment upon certain significant facts revealed by those who know the system, who work in it, or who have been educated by it. A table taken from a recent report on the education of native children (1923) can well guide the thought. It gives the percentage of children in the primary grades.

Standard	(A) Children in Native Schools.		(B) Natives in Public Schools.
Preparatory	46.8	—	50.6
Standard I	11.8	—	15.5
Standard II	11.7	—	12.5
Standard III	10.3	—	10.0
Standard IV	7.6	—	5.9
Standard V	6.7	—	3.5
Standard VI	5.1	—	2.0

In both cases the largest number are in the preparatory classes. This immediately emphasises the great problem of native schooling—the bi-lingual difficulty. For, as mentioned, children in A know practically nothing of English whatever, though it is usual for children of B to have some smattering through contact with *Pakehas*. Now the most outstanding clause in the Acts of '67 and '71 was that instruction should be given in the English language only for children of A, while this would naturally be so with

children of B. The result is the child must learn the rudiments of English before school work has any meaning whatever, and all through his course this "foreign" language must be progressively mastered with other instruction. A teacher tells how a native boy may come to school for six months without uttering a word. Especially in the mixed schools do the children tend to lose interest and drift away. Concerning this, the experience of many teachers in different districts is borne out by the table B, where there is a sudden drop after Standard III. Up to this time the children compare most favourably, in practically all subjects, with white children. Yet at that stage they fall away. The main reason is probably that the children gradually become conscious for the first time of racial differences, discrepancies of clothing and habits, the life of their parents, and so on, and immediately the sensitiveness of a gathering "inferiority complex" crushes out spontaneity and interest. Nevertheless there is a marked drop in both tables, which might indicate interesting comparisons between the development of Maori and of white children. The whole learning process has many handicaps beside that of language, mainly the result of conditions out of school.

Returning to discuss school progress, it is usually found that the children who reach the higher classes are certainly apt scholars, excelling in the more mechanical processes, and quick at observation, imitation, and adaptation. A keen sense of rhythm and tone, of simple colour patterns, marks their handiwork. A class could add double figures as fast as the teacher gave them out. Especially in the native schools, for there the Maori can be himself, is school work done with enthusiasm and energy, where teachers are able to grip their curiosity and interest. Yet very few reach the Proficiency stage, especially in mixed schools (5% in A, 2% in B). Some will say this is due to inherent differences of capacity. Without disputing this, however, the fact that where language problems are mastered and the environmental conditions improved, as at secondary boarding schools, many of the Maori children really are able to enter the spheres of highest thinking, seems to indicate that the vast number are retarded by these disabilities. The bi-lingual problem thus seems the main difficulty, as

was seen in our study of social distance, and has apparently reduced Maori schooling largely to a training of the more mechanical mental processes. Thus the children who could add so well were badly tripped by a simple test question: "How many legs has a three-legged stool?" Some gave 12, and some 6, indicating difficulties of imagery and inter-language translation. However, no study has been attempted yet concerning the mental potential of the Maori, so that the writer cannot venture to postulate racial differences that may bear upon the problem. The need is again emphasised for scientific study, especially as related to school activities.

Certain more general problems of schooling could well be stressed here.* The writer is in no way equipped to criticise the methods of the Department and its Staff, yet some factors are quite apparent. The present policy is well summed up by the statement of a Department official: "Our business is to teach the children to think and behave like white men." The curriculum strictly excludes practically everything Maori: language, customs, history, lore, arts, and crafts. No word of Maori is to be spoken in school hours. Thus a clear cut line marks off the five hours of school activity from the rest of the daily life. Apparently the Maori adults on the whole favour this, for they say the school is only there to teach what they cannot, and nothing else. Handiwork, agriculture, cooking, weaving, and so on, they can learn at home—therefore why waste time teaching them? So the school tends to be essentially a place of formal learning, of gaining chiefly a familiarity with the English language, with a smattering of ideas more or less useful, a fair speed of reading, writing, and figuring, and apart from the personal influence of the teacher little real re-organisation of the purposes or feeling-life.

The whole question arises here whether the school should have a wider function. If it is merely to impart instruction, this re-organisation of the intellectual experience is excellent. But where, for nineteen hours a day, the children are living in the atmosphere of the average Maori *pa*, is it possible that the school should do something

*It may be noted, however, that most of these problems have a general application to the "schooling" of both Maori and *Pakeha*.

more? For while they are struggling to acquire a "mass of alien erudition," their standards and vital expression-forms must still be predominantly those of home and settlement. The school lessons only too often are largely separated from life-experience, and learning continues just as long as compulsion lasts, or as curiosity, wonder, and interest stimulate. A certain few pass on to gain wider schooling, and there is the possibility that the terms they have mastered may become vital and full of meaning to them. But the question is whether the children other than these are being equipped in the best possible way for their future life, by the present system.

Even at the secondary stage, this acquisition of pseudo-knowledge is only too often apparent. "We are being laden with wares which we have no market for!" A student at the end of the century, speaking of the "tendency to reversion," said that "boys and girls, after spending four or five years at a boarding school and acquiring both the solid knowledge and the refined accomplishments which a liberal education can give, will in a few months after their return to the native *pa* relapse, apparently without a regret, into sloth, dirt, and barbarism."(11) The explanation seems to lie in the lack of comprehension of ends and means by school authorities. A schooling apart from life-experience, giving a surfeit of learning, but little direction to the fundamental interests and purposes is in small measure educational, for it creates but an artificial polish laid on by external authority. Once freed from these habitual artificial restraints, and back in primitive living conditions, the undisciplined nature asserts itself, and "the last state . . . is worse than the first." A very vivid illustration of this lack of character development was given to the writer by a chieftainess who said: "You teach our children to read and write in your schools, and then they come home to despise their elders as ignorant. They bring bits of paper and get their parents to sign away lands to them. They are untrustworthy and cannot be believed!" There must be some bitter truth behind such an outburst!

Enlarging further on this discussion of the school and its impact upon the life of the oncoming generation, two striking attitudes may illustrate the importance of a right knowledge of the problems involved. In his opening address

for 1925, the President of the Native School Teachers' Association voiced, from his long practical experience, his ideas on certain aspects of schooling. He considered that the home of the native child must be influenced and interested if real progress is to be made, this being to him of far more importance than the actual school work. The teacher's duty was to try to show that there was more pleasure in thrift and work than in idleness, waste, and dissipation, to try and inculcate the simple virtues into the mind of the young rather than to interest them in the things people have strived at so long with little result. Every effort should be made to foster racial pride which was in danger of dying out with the "superior" attitude of the younger generation towards knowledge "merely Maori." Hence he moved that the Association should recommend reasonable liberty to be given for teachers to introduce into their programme of work suitable native culture-forms. This expression from a devoted worker among the race who has isolated himself in a distant native village, and who is up against the actual problems at first hand, is surely full of weight when the function of the school is to be considered.

In contrast to this, however, a recent report of the Education Department again deplores that too few Maori children are sitting for scholarships and free places, and urges teachers to prepare more pupils to compete. A glance too at the work-chart of any Native School shows that the scheme of activities follows practically the same standardised time-table as, say, that in a city school. With reference to the resolution above mentioned concerning the introduction of folk-songs, handwork, and simple dances into the syllabus, a Department official deprecated any such recognition of "degenerate" arts and crafts. "If the Maoris value their culture," he said, "it will be handed down in their homes. It is no concern of the School." Such are two different conceptions of the functions of schooling.

We have now examined in some measure the impact of the School upon Maoridom. Here is at once the most crucial and yet the most difficult problem of to-day in the re-organisation of the race. For the destiny of the Maori certainly lies with the thousands of children at present coming under the influence of this great civilized institution.

The State in itself, through the Education Department and its officers, is anxious to make count to the uttermost this unique period in the lives of the growing youth when for a number of their vital formative years they come regularly within the doors of the schoolhouse. The adult Maoris of to-day also well realise that only through education can their sons and daughters find a better and happier way of life, and so they entrust them gladly to the school officers. However, in the survey, something of the tremendous difficulties that at present tend to separate the will from the deed, have been seen. The problems of native schooling are awaiting the search of qualified students to make them apparent, and to discover the lines of remedy. Meanwhile, it must be acknowledged that it is doubtful if the School, on its present basis of working, can supply that fundamental basis of adaptation to the changing order, even though its contribution is invaluable in the building of a new Maoridom.

* * *

Historically, the first great constructive institution to influence the race was the Church.

In the wake of the explorer and the trader came the missionary and his message. Already, in the early historical survey, the main outline of Mission influence was traced. For all further information the student must turn to the story of the Church, as told graphically by contemporary missionaries and historians, and in the more recent literature on the subject.

These early efforts cannot be over-valued, even if they were not always visibly successful. So far as the missionaries were able by example and precept to secure a better code of behaviour, even where the full spiritual and ethical message was hardly grasped, they were preparing the way for better social relationships throughout Maoridom. The saintly and simple faith of many of the older generation of Maoris is a wonderful tribute to the work of Christian pioneers. What was dangerous, however—and the problem is merely alike with the spiritual problem among many white people—was the emotional fire, or the theological doctrine that did not find practical expression in the daily life of the native. Thus the perversions of the prophets,

the emotionalism, and puerile theology that have characterised much Maori religious experience. Too often fear-domination, hell-fire, ceremonial, spectacular "mysteries" and "miracles," startling revelations and the like, achieve what the appeal to a personal re-organisation of ideal and motive fails to do.

It is no place here to examine critically the numerous religious movements, both *Pakeha* and Maori in origin, through which sections of Maoridom, large or small, find their expression—Christian churches and denominational missions, the Ratana Movement, the mysterious *Ringa-tu* or "Uplifted Hand" and its prophets, the *Ruuri Tuawhitu*, Mormonism, and so on. Wherever religious movements are throwing their weight into the scale on behalf of right social relationships and the physical, mental, and moral advancement of the race, they are contributing valuable service. Wherever excessive emotionalism, theological division, sectarianism, impractical emphasis, or the exploitation of religion in the service of politics, personal gain, or ambition for leadership are present, then the influence of the Church becomes highly dangerous. The *mana* of the religious expression-forms of modern *pakeha* society, and of spontaneous cults that are arising within Maoridom itself is very great, and the leads given are being followed trustingly for better, or for worse.

Some idea of the present organisation of native religious life may be gained from the 1926 census statistics. As issued by the Government Statistician in June, 1928, this, the first survey of the position, can be set forth as follows:—

Religious Profession.	Number.
Church of England	21,738
Ratana Church	11,567
Roman Catholic	8,558
Ringa-tu (including Hau-hau)	4,540
Methodist	4,066
Mission (note below)	3,804
Latter Day Saints (Mormon)	3,416
Presbyterian	638
Followers of Te Whiti and Tohu	375
Maori Church (so returned)	90
Seventh Day Adventist	84
"Seven Rules of Jehovah"	71
Other Christian Churches	335

Religious Profession.	Number.
Non-Christian Churches	12
Other Beliefs	439
Object to state	3,193
Indefinitely specified	699

Note.—The majority of those returned "Mission" are probably Anglicans, as the early name for "Anglican" was "Mihinare" (Church Missionary Society).

It will be seen from this that over one-fourth (16,643) recorded themselves in the census returns as adherents of solely Maori institutions; also some idea of the complexities of native religion may be gained.

The discussion of the spiritual life of Maoridom to-day is not an easy task. Unlike the comparatively defined and slow-moving organisation of State and School, which deal mainly with material and intellectual forms, the outpouring of the human spirit in religious experience cannot easily be caught into words or forms. There is a spontaneity and freshness about vital spiritual expression, whether it be in the abandonment to emotionalism, the obedience to "Thou shalt not," the mystical insights of an ascetic or "prophet," or the fervour of a thoughtful disciple, that cannot always be regulated by forms, creeds, terminology. Therefore, in speaking generally and comprehensively of the "Church," the term must be an elastic one.

However, in discussing the impact of established religious organisations upon Maoridom, it will be possible to see some of the difficulties and complexities of the individual native in his contact with the spiritual heritage of civilization. Thus the first group of facts that might be considered is concerned with the bitter theological differences, the claims to authoritative creeds and forms, all that goes to make up sectarianism to-day. Within the race these diversities even tend to be exaggerated in extremely dangerous ways, rending through an already heterogeneous Maoridom. Fortunately these antagonisms, if not all the differences, are rapidly becoming a thing of the past among enlightened folk. But the Maori can know little of what may go on in a Council of Christian Congregations, while he has had vivid experience of what has gone before.

Again, the thinking Maori is fully aware of the un-Christlike spirit manifested among many *pakeha* Churchmen. We can hardly blame him for thinking through to

logical conclusions. To quote a native: "Every new sect spoke at first softly, then louder and louder, until the air trembled with strident and bitter revilings—one creed shouting this, another besmirching and bellowing that! . . . and the end was we sat on our heels and doubted the preaching of either!"(12) Through the complexities of *pakeha* religions the Maori can look with the clear insight as of a child, and see, too, on every side formalism, lip-service, and even polite contempt in spiritual matters. What wonder that he should question now the glad acceptance of missionary teaching by the last generation; or should tend to separate religion from behaviour. What wonder that his people know not where they stand. The *Pakeha* professes but does not practise—surely the obligation of the white man is to put his own house in order! Take a recent instance, where a group of Europeans walked into a Maori meeting-house, smoking and without removing their hats, while a native service was being conducted. Only when they had the fact pointed out by the native minister that worship was in progress did they have the grace to leave. The narrator of the incident naively said that such behaviour was strange in the eyes of the Maori, for he thought that the European should know such things without being told.

There is another group of factors that hamper greatly the *pakeha* Church in its efforts among the race. These arise out of the accumulated misunderstandings and the historical associations of Maori-*Pakeha* interaction. Take, for example, the case of an old chief who speaks thus of the religion of the white man: "Your missionaries came to us and pointed upward with one hand to your God; trusting them, we looked up; then with the other hand they took away our lands! Can we believe your people now?" Apart from the justice of the statement, it is surely a poignant revelation of Maori thinking. Or consider such incidents (not forgotten) as the investing of the impregnable *pa* at Ruapekapeka during the Northern Wars by white troops on a Sunday, at a time when the native defenders were engaged in their worship of the *pakeha* God, believing that the *Pakeha* was doing the same! Besides this mass of historical incident, there is a vast difficulty arising from the survival of ancient thought-forms and customs, already

examined. It is certainly a good and healthy sign when the Maori religious experience takes root in and builds on the cultural background of the race, in so far as this is adequate to express the new spirit. But the danger is that the greater truth may be entangled and distorted by primitive conceptions, and lead to unnatural thought, feeling and behaviour. This has been clearly seen in the perversions of the " prophets," the incomplete comprehension of Biblical meanings, the separation of belief from conduct.

All these comments upon Maori religious life and concerning the constructive and disruptive factors resulting from the impact of the Church, will be made more clear perhaps if a few examples be cited.

The name of Rua, the " prophet of the Urewera," is familiar to all New Zealanders. His activities in the isolated fastnesses of the bush-lands at different times have been harassing to politicians, churchmen, and police. After a period of obscurity, he has now made another bid for *mana*. His new " revelation " of 1927 was that in the month of August the return of the Messiah would be accomplished. In the resulting catastrophe, all but the faithful who took refuge in his mountain stronghold " Jericho " at Maungapohatu would meet their fate. A typical feature of his message was that the house-roofs in the settlement should be made of iron, as, when the stars were falling, tents or rush roofs would catch fire! In response to his warning some hundreds of natives hurried thither, sacrificing their hard-won farms, herds, and worldly possessions for far below value, fully convinced of the truth of this prophecy. This, too, in spite of the actual failure of similar revelations of past years by this same Rua, as a result of which numbers of natives were left dispossessed and starving.

Again, take a case in a district already for long in close contact with civilization. Here an infant was suffering from typhoid fever in a settlement the people of which were professed followers of the faith-healer Ratana. The Health officers sought to remove the baby to the neighbouring hospital, but the Maoris obstructed in a body, maintaining that their faith and prayers would suffice alone to cure the sickness. It was only with the aid of the police that the officers were enabled to do their duty—and still

From a sketch by Angas.

AN EARLY MISSION STATION.
Pepepe, on the Waikato River.

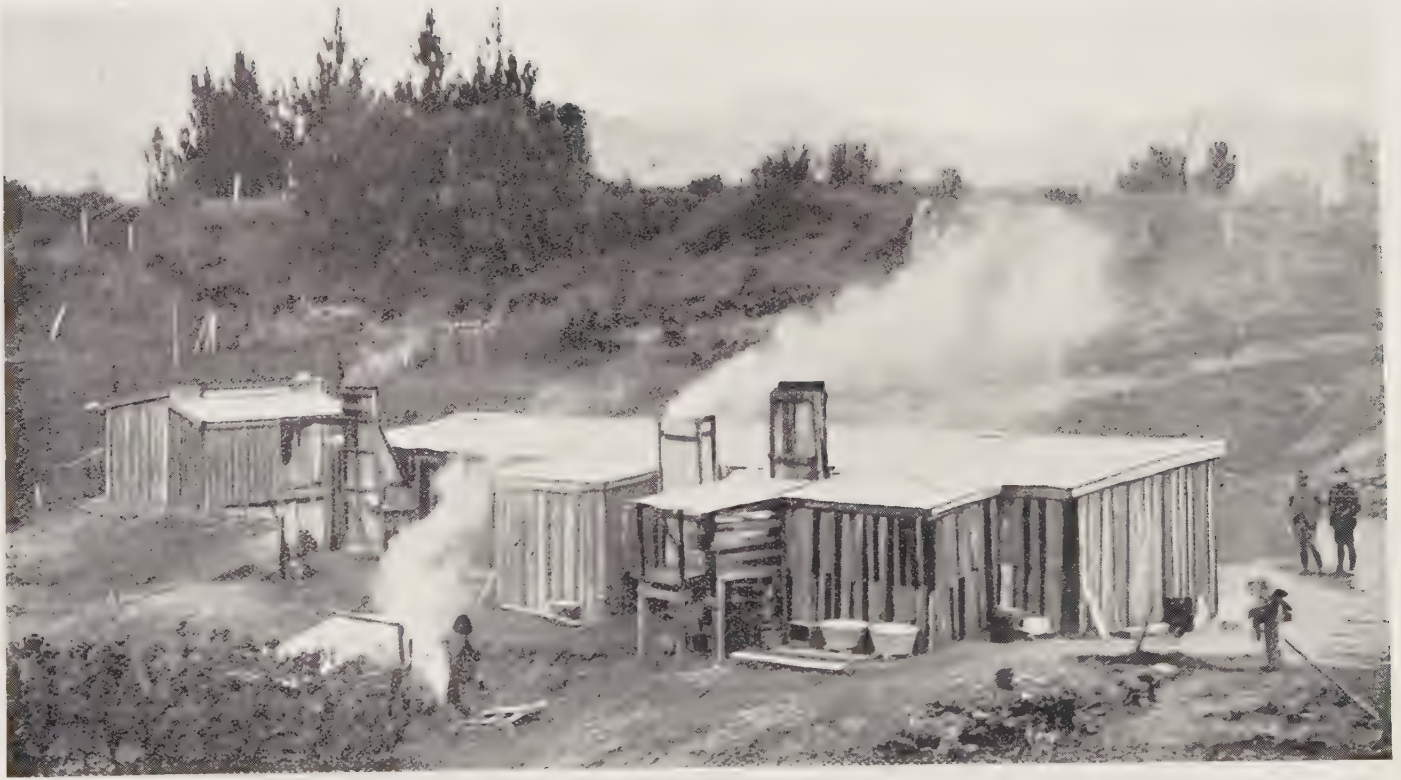

Photo. by "Auckland Weekly News."

IN RUA'S STRONGHOLD.

The kitchens. Of special interest is the corrugated iron of all roofing.

another animosity was added to the long list of differences and misunderstandings.

Another aspect of the problem of constructive Church work is perhaps made clearer by an extract from a Maori District report to the Presbyterian Assembly of 1926: "These people have been caught into the maelstrom of *pakeha* vice and worldliness and pleasure. We are all familiar with the manner in which our own people, many of whom have been brought up under the shadow of the Church are caught . . . If these have such power over our own people with centuries of Christian teaching behind them, what must they be to these people, unfortified as they are."

Any survey of the Church and the Maori would be incomplete without at least some mention of the church founded by Ratana. Very many differing opinions are forthcoming as to the stability and the capacity to guide the Maori religious life possessed by this easily the most comprehensive of spontaneous spiritual movements in the race. Some of the established religious bodies condemn, others support. Among Maori thinkers there is the same divergence. One thing is sure, however: that Ratana the faith-healer touched the deepest springs of religious enthusiasm, and this not only among the Maori race. "The secret of Ratana's power is Ratana's knowledge of the Maori mind. The Maoris wish to express their religious life in their own way—interpret divine truth according to their own conception of it, and build up a theology of their own. They are happy when in office, and certainly work hard at their religion."

At one period of Ratana's ministry of healing, it was said that he could count on 40,000 adherents—which is certainly as near a unified Maoridom as has ever existed. However, with the building of the township of "Ratana" with its "bank" and "temple," with the intricate organisation of the "Church of Ratana," and the transference of emphasis from the more spiritual matters, to politics, economics, town-planning, and other more material affairs, the fervour of discipleship has tended to wane very considerably. To-day, Ratana himself seems to be almost a nonentity in the movement, and its direction has fallen to a network organisation of "apostles," bishops, preachers,

councillors and the like, whose vision and capacity for leadership seem hardly always adequate. Still, the movement is typically Maori in conception: having plenty of dignitaries, with due authority, symbolism, and ceremonial, colourful, and being quite mysteriously exclusive of the *pakeha* churches. Some churchmen have been much troubled about the addition of the words "and the ministry of the True Angels" to the Trinity as a fundamental formula of the new Church. Apparently Ratana has taken a Biblical stand here concerning the ministry of the Angels. and this to him is a powerful lever in freeing the Maori from fear of black magic, *tapu*, and so on: for to the typical native the air is still full of spirits, good and evil, these of course being the good. The Ratana Church is still powerful, but how permanent it will be remains to be seen. One cynic has said of the elaborate and mystical temple which was built entirely by Maori labour: "If Maori character is still true to life, this will be a storehouse of ceremonial for a year or two, and then for grain or wool." Already it would seem that there are serious signs of schism in the material aspects of life within and without the controlling councils. Thus a typical news cutting says:

> "Owing to troubles which have come thick and fast upon the organisation of late, it is feared that there will soon be no choice but for the people to return to their homes. As some are too impoverished to go on their own account, it has been suggested that the Government consider the matter of granting a free passage home to the people now in residence at the *pa* (Ratana)."

Further, the apparent quiescence of Ratana's power of faith-healing and such incidents as his conviction in the Wanganui Police Court for driving a car while under the influence of liquor, together with the rather lavish expenditure of money by leaders, the questionable financial position of the "bank," and the like, do not make for either unity or spiritual power within the new Church. Whether or not the Ratana Movement can maintain its *mana* and extend its influence among the various religious organisations within Maoridom will depend, in the opinion of the writer, upon the degree in which the Church regains the spiritual freshness and simple idealism that marked the rise of Ratana's work, and extends its tolerance to broader interpretations as the younger generations of Maoridom become better educated.

One other fact may well be mentioned among the constructive movements in Maoridom. This is the re-organisation of its Maori work by the Anglican Church, the oldest and strongest numerically of the established churches within the race. After more than a hundred years of working, a thorough examination of the Maori field revealed the fact that the natives were scattered throughout different dioceses, and that the work was un-coordinated, with no proper interchange of experience between the districts. At the same time the Maori churchmen had reached a point where they desired keenly some racial expression through the control and leadership of the Church as it affected their people. The result has been the formation of a separate diocese for the Maori race, called "Aotearoa." A Maori clergyman has been appointed as a "suffragan" Bishop, in response to the insistent appeal that the head of the native work should be a member of the Maori race. The keenness of the native Anglicans is well shown by the fact that they offered also to provide the whole stipend of the Bishop and the funds for his work over a period of years. By some, the wisdom of the whole move is questioned, largely because it brings into prominence racial differences and discrimination, instead of having a unity of fellowship. But this desire for self-determination within the Mother-church seems clearly to be the result of a healthy urge towards racial expression; and in accordance with the sociological dictum with which this chapter is headed, is a real indication of a growing adaptation of the Church to the genius of the Maori people.

From these examples it has perhaps been possible to glimpse something of the diversity of Maori religious expression to-day, especially of the problems involved in the working of established *pakeha* organisations in their effort to present to Maoridom the great spiritual achievements of civilization. This again is a field that is waiting the touch of students with spiritual insight and fearless hearts, and from their work a harvest of truth should be reaped as fare for the new generation of Maoridom.

One thing seems clear as a result of the study; namely, that it seems impossible to find a permanent basis of unity within the race to-day in religious experience. Perhaps

even more than with the State and the School, the difficulties that have been created in Maoridom by the impact of the Church in all the differentiations of its civilized expression forms have tended to bewilder the individual or lead him astray.

* * *

In themselves, these *pakeha* influences have not been able to stay degeneracy effectively or to provide the necessary direction for a true adaptation to civilized life. True, all have made, and are making, an immense contribution to Maoridom, each working in its own special field. They are to be reckoned with inevitably in any future re-organisation of the race. But even where the *Pakeha* may have an adequate vision of the direction of development, no matter how sympathetic he may be, he is "foreign," and many factors are there to prevent absolute confidence and understanding between him and the native race. The Maori cannot be lifted arbitrarily from outside to take a place beside the *Pakeha* in this new era, however fine may be the intentions of State, School, and Church leaders.

* * *

Apparently, then, the cultural gulf, the social distance between the races is far too serious to be bridged either by the mass of the Maori people themselves, or by the efforts of the *Pakeha*. Yet it is clear that only by adjustment to civilization can the Maoris survive permanently as a race in a land where they are outnumbered by more than twenty to one by the *Pakeha*.

It is surely just this *impasse* that has caused the dying out of the Maori people over large areas where there has been interaction with the incoming whites. It was surely this *impasse* that led many devoted students in last century and at the beginning of this century, after years of struggle to uplift the native folk, to foretell extinction as inevitable. Adaptation was impossible; "Where the White Man treads" the Maori cannot follow. A civilized New Zealand meant a vanished Maoriland.

Is there any hope that the barriers between the races will ever be broken down? Is there a chance of a new life for the oncoming generations?

So far our survey of the present Maoridom has been particularly negative and gloomy: a probing open of the troubles and stresses and difficulties of change coming both from Maori efforts and white aids. The writer has been keenly concious of the fact that the study up to here has been a tale of "diversity, confusion, tragedy." Yet it has been felt that these matters should be so set out and analysed to fullest extent in the interests of inter-racial understanding. Also, the facts of change, be they ever so gloomy, should be known if the full significance of the further facts now to be studied concerning new progressive movements within the race are to be appreciated.

Already mention has been made at the end of the transition survey of a rising generation of educated Maoris who show promise of future leadership. What now of these folk, their work, ideas, visions? Can they supply what we have so far sought in vain: stability, unity, understanding?

The writer feels that a crucial time has arrived in Maori development, now that this increasing number of natives, by outstanding ability and favourable circumstances, are rising above their fellows, and are winning into the inner shrine of the finest world culture. This "no man's land" can be crossed—has been crossed. Of these natives, some have turned completely from their Maori heritage and are living comfortably and apparently happily among white communities. They stand as proofs that adaptation may be achieved; yet they contribute little more to the solution of our problem.

The really vital and all-important point in our whole study of Maoridom, is that an increasing number of these thought-leaders are not only kindling their torches at the shrine of the world-culture, but are groping back through the darkness to lead their people towards the light!

The work of statesmen, teachers, and missionaries, the efforts of State, School, and Church are well rewarded in that they have produced and are continuing to produce a group of leaders and thinkers with more than an emotional domination, an inherited *mana,* or an artificial code of behaviour; rather with a rational vision of present needs and future possibilities. Not only have these men and women acquired a truly liberal education themselves,

but they are able to take back a living ideal and a purposive task to interpret to their people in a way impossible to any *Pakeha*. For they alone have looked on civilization with Maori eyes, having bridged the social distance they can give the lead and set the example.

Not that all have equally rich conceptions of the best future for their people. But this variation is, up to a point, a healthy diversity. Again, the path of such thinkers has never been easy, nor can be. It involves service and sacrifice—it is true pioneering. They have to face malice, envy, and suspicion among their own people, race-prejudice, and superiority from many *pakeha* folk. Also they must acquire personal *mana* in the eyes of Maoridom before their message can be accepted. Some of these thinkers—it would be invidious to differentiate by names—certainly have great influence as being invested with *mana* from *pakeha* Parliament and University; others have the spiritual *mana* of the Church behind them. Especially worthy of mention is the fine contribution that has been made by the "Young Maori Party," which rose out of a group of enthusiastic students at the famous Maori College, Te Aute.

To-day, the fact that an increasing number of the youth of the race are being truly educated, no matter how great the difficulties that face them, give promise of a future leadership that may fashion the destiny of the Maori people. The path of stability and progress may be dim and full of pitfalls for the vast majority of the race, but the torch-bearers seem at hand.

Will, then, the torches they hold shed the true light? Can they understand the dark ways of transition sufficiently? Is their lead to be accepted in this present crucial period? This will be the theme of much of our study of the Future.

PART III.

THE FUTURE.

I.

THE OUTLOOK AHEAD.

> "Will none understand the Maori? Is it possible that two generations of contact have not yet comprehended that he is a precocious child, beyond conception clever, astute, wayward, affectionate, wild, honest, just, cruel, compassionate, and—oh! so utterly human?"
>
> —*W. B.*

So far, the present position has been viewed as a momentary result of diverse and rapidly moving tendencies operating in different districts in different ways for different periods and with different results. While the ancient animosities within the race have too often remained, the ancient *mana* and culture have tended to pass away, partly through the weight of external pressure as a result of the superimposition of the civilized culture forms, and partly as being an insufficient basis for new experience. Either the old has been evolved and idealised, or else has been lost completely, leaving little common ground for inter-Maori relationships other than that of blood and ancestry, now even tending to be discredited, especially among the rising generation. But the difficulties of assimilation of the more complex social organisation and the wider thought-life of civilization have prevented a progressive adaptation to the change. Hence, lost in the diversity and the instability of the transition, the race has tended to psycho-physical disruption and retrogression, and even to a dangerous hopelessness, this being most fully revealed toward the end of the last century.

It has been in the material and intellectual aspects of white life that the Maori has sought to recover his *mana,* and the spiritual implications of behaviour have tended to be misunderstood, disregarded, or found impracticable. Few uniform moulding forces of home, school, established expression-forms of settlement or tribe, have been there to organise the development of the rising generation, hence

unity of life, self-control, and character have not been adequately attained. Thus the activities of the individual have been directed by leaders, more or less enlightened, who have been able to grip the disorganised feeling-life apart from the value of the ideal they have visioned. Or where there has been extreme interaction with the *Pakeha,* the uncontrolled primitive nature cloaked with pseudo-culture, has tended to find a distorted assertion in the lower habituations of civilization. The two great features of the transition have been the lack of interaction between the units of Maoridom, and too rapid interaction between Maori and *Pakeha.*

Nevertheless, certain constructive forces have been at work, mainly directed by the *Pakeha,* and following ends more or less conceived. But State, Church and School, owing to difficulties and misunderstandings on both sides, have never been able to contribute adequately what white culture could provide for the Maori people. Yet the great achievement of the past has been the production in the present generation of an increasing group of enlightened thinkers who can, if they will, be the interpreters of the Great Society to their race. Just as with white thinkers, there is great diversity in their conception of the true message. Still, if their vision is adequate, and their people will follow, there is a hope for a new vitality in Maoridom. To-day there are over twenty-five thousand children under fifteen, or 40 per cent. of the whole population. Upon them and the succeeding generation will certainly rest the future destiny of the race. Such is a general summary of the survey of past and present.

The vital points of stress are just where the individual Maori fails in his relationships with fellow Maori, and where he misunderstands or is misunderstood by the *Pakeha.* The vital need is for some stable basis on which to build a new Maoridom, some stimulus, adequately conceived and applied by enlightened leaders, that will bring a unity in diversity and will re-direct the life purpose of the race. Whether population continues to increase, or whether a final rapid decay will set in, at any rate over large areas of Maoridom, appears to depend on what happens during the next few years.

Photo. by "Auckland Weekly News."

A PRODUCTIVE NATIVE INDUSTRY.

A white-bait fishing camp at the mouth of the Waikato River—
an example of Maori adaptability in work.

Photo. by Miss M. Martin.

ON THE LAND.
A typical native farm house upon the communal acres.

The older people may well shake their heads and murmur "*Ka mutu!*" (it is finished); but to the new generation rising to eat from the "baskets of wisdom" there is surely some promise for the future—yet can they be directed from the *kete tuatea*, "the basket of evil" to the *kete aronui*, that which holds all that is finest and best in life?

* * *

The way is now open to examine in the light of Past and Present, the possibilities which the Future may hold for the changing Maori race.

It cannot be maintained to-day that the race must necessarily pass away. Certainly there are some who consider yet that, as with the Red Indian, the Australian Aborigine, and the Island folk, the extinction of the Maori is inevitable, even desirable. The fatalism of Nature, of the law of "tooth and claw," demands it as a sacrifice on the altar of progress.

However, it is apparent that the true biological and sociological issue that is involved in this struggle for race survival is rather that of adjustment: whether the individual has sufficient adaptability to fit himself to live in the changing environment. Certainly some primitive people have lacked this capacity for adjustment in full enough measure. But we have seen that the Maori would be anything but holding his own at present had he not had a great measure of adaptability, considering the tremendous shocks of transition already experienced in the last century. It will also be remembered how thoroughly and completely the Maori was able to adapt himself to the rugged conditions of Aotearoa, as compared with his tropical island environment. Certainly, the peoples of the South Island and in some North Island areas have fared ill, and are but a remnant or have passed away. Yet where individuals are having a fair chance in their contact with civilization, the fullest capacity for physical, intellectual, and spiritual achievement is being shown. A student says of the race: "It is absurd to regard its extinction as in some way mysteriously fated and inevitably doomed, or to utter scientific platitudes about the 'survival of the fittest' without knowing that the Maori, both physically and mentally, is essentially fit."(11) In view of these facts, many people

feel that the Maori race is still to be reckoned with; that present humanitarian efforts can be more than an anaesthetic to deaden the throes of decadence; that the Maori, with his fine heritage and the potential wealth of his lands, can contribute something very worthwhile to the future of the Dominion and of a world increasingly faced with racial adjustment.

Two pertinent questions have so far arisen in considering the future of Maoridom. First: is the Maori worth saving? Second: if so, what direction should regeneration take? The first issue can be determined quickly. For, if the usefulness of the Maori is ended and "the sooner he is finished off the better for himself, the country, and for everybody else," then there would be no need for any further analysis—nor for the practical application of our study. But if the Maori is worth our interest and effort, then it is urgent that full account be taken of all possible directions of development, and by these the forces at work within the race evaluated as means toward development.

Apart from a drastic judgment of the Maori as an encumbrance foisted upon legislators by a ridiculous treaty of 1840, the status desirable for a native race living in a young and rich country beside a dominant white race is naturally variously defined.

From the economic and political viewpoints, the Maori has lands and work-power which certainly must be utilised. But already we have seen that the material aspects of advance are conditioned by a necessary development in the individual that can be variously summed up in such psychological terms as character, individuality, citizenship, sociality. Yet immediately there is further definition of these terms, there comes in the case of the Maori an important distinction. For some say that, to obtain this development, the Maori must become essentially like the *Pakeha,* and that a quick fusion of the races is desirable. So long as the Maori stays a Maori he is necessarily under a handicap. Others consider that the Maori should be given an opportunity to develop his racial individuality, rather than be absorbed completely into the white culture and population.

As already noted in the study of "social distance," there is no sign of a speedy intermingling of the two stocks.

Any process of a racial fusion must necessarily be long, especially in these days of increasing colour discrimination. The first of the above avenues of development demands then that the Maori must superimpose upon his physical and mental heritage the habits, culture, and behaviour of an alien race. Its advocates say this must be done, if the Maori is to continue to exist in the country. To-day most *Pakeha* influences of State, School, Church, vocation, and leisure activities are tending to mould the Maori thus.

But, say others, under present conditions this is bringing, and inevitably will bring, disruption and decadence, owing to the difficulties involved. Certainly fusion would be hastened. But this would be but the absorption by the dominating race of a passsive remnant that may survive, and means the sure annihilation of the many and the utter destruction of the Maori *mana* and race-consciousness. The Maori can never become *Pakeha,* and a mere veneer laid on by law, curriculum, dogma, and habit is doubly wasteful, as not only is such development highly dangerous, but also it may suppress valuable latent potentialities within the race, capable of greatly enriching the national spirit of New Zealand. Rather " a good Maori is preferable to a nondescript, ill-manufactured *Pakeha.*" That this possible capacity should be subjected to the blundering good intentions and diverse influences of our post-war society without conscious examination and direction is most wasteful and unfortunate.

Thus these latter would consider the best end of development to be a Maori re-organisation. Perhaps this can be expressed best in the words used by a TIMES writer of an African native college, which takes account of " all sorts of valuable un-English qualities and instincts that must be preserved and developed." Its aim is defined as " a system of character training which takes full account of the environment of the pupils and of all the good elements in their ethnic past, and leads them out into a broader modern world with their native aptitudes and capacities not over-burdened and paralysed by a mass of undigested alien erudition." To those who hold this view (both *Pakeha* and Maori) the vision is no far off thing, but actually demonstrated in the lives of certain outstanding leaders of the race in whose thought modern culture is infused and

freshened by the poetic and mystic touch of their people, broadened by a profound appreciation of the past, and fired by a keen racial pride. If ultimately the Maori people could be lifted to take an equal place with the cultured white man, then there could well be a racial fusion—not as haughty Norman joining with humble Saxon, but as proud Welshman joining with proud Englishman.

Without venturing to pronounce these particular conceptions of the best direction of Maori development as fully right or wrong, it is now desirable to outline and, wherever possible, evaluate the various influences in Maoridom in the light of their possible contribution to the Future.

There is no need to pause further to examine the re-organising forces that are coming from outside Maoridom—especially through the great institutions. Apparently they do not provide, in view of the difficulties, a sufficiently fundamental basis, or that leadership, by which a new Maoridom may be fashioned. Therefore it will be more helpful to pass directly to examine the attempt at re-organisation made from within the race. Graham Wallas in *Our Social Heritage,* says that: "each generation, if it is to live happily and harmoniously, and even if it is to avoid acute suffering, must adapt to its present needs the social heritage which it received from the preceding generation."(22) The Maori people, during these years of conflict between their ancient heritage and the heritage brought by the *Pakeha,* have more or less consciously worked out a series of experiments in adaptation, driven by the urge to live. Throughout the survey, a number of these have been examined or referred to. Some, of course, have merely negative significance, as for instance, assertion through warfare; these can serve merely as signposts of "No Thoroughfare," as lessons to be heeded in the future. Others are all-important to Maori welfare. The experiments vary from the most intimate contact with the white man to utter exclusiveness; from strict isolation between Maori units, to keen attempts to achieve racial unity.

Two extremes of the re-organisation of Maori life have been apparent, and between them there is every differentiation of change. They are: first, unlimited contact with the *Pakeha,* surrender of the past, and contempt for everything and everyone Maori; second, physical and mental

exclusiveness. Of these, the first movement has been general through the transition, and the survey of the historical results has revealed the extreme dangers involved. Two great factors are speeding up this extreme interaction today: the civilization of remote areas, and the comprehensive schooling of the rising generation. Yet it would seem from our study that the Maori people are on the average too handicapped to dare risk either themselves or their children facing up to the direct struggle. At the other extreme there are those who have shut themselves off from the *Pakeha* in disillusioned fatalism—the conscious or unconscious players in the final scene of the tragedy of decadence.

While this last is naturally the worst extreme of negative isolation, many such barriers of exclusiveness exist all over Maoridom, as has already been shown, both between Maori and *Pakeha,* and Maori and Maori. Truly it might be said that on the stage of our racial drama most of the actors are playing behind impenetrable masks that shut out mutual sympathy and understanding. Certainly these "faces" are no help towards the untangling of the plot at this time of crisis. The results have already been to an extent seen: a far greater disruption than would perhaps have been necessary, a dangerous loss of virility through consanguineal marriage, a lack of interchange of experience in adaptation, and a general weakening of Maori *mana* and race pride.

So far, such movements offer little hope of permanent adaptation, and are merely negative experiments of the transition—yet full of instructive lessons for any future attempt to re-organise the life of Maoridom. The final fruits of some of them are now seen. Some are still developing with varying results in different districts, villages, and individuals. Pitt-Rivers quotes an adult Maori thus: "We have now finished with the past, there is no going back . . . The only thing is to learn to make things like the *Pakeha.*" But the note of hopeless tragedy sounds in his final words: "Yet how many of the young men who go to college become wasters, they come back to the village with so much knowledge that they do not work, and loaf about like superior beings."(16) No wonder many students and admirers of the ancient Maori, hearing this typical expression among the present people, feel not only despondency for the future,

and a profound sympathy, but shame at their own "prosletyzing culture" which has brought this about.

Looking further over Maoridom, it is now possible to sum up and evaluate some of the further bases on which, in past and present, many Maoris have sought more or less spasmodically to build a new life-structure. Certainly, the efforts at mere material improvement, at getting health, wealth, or "station in life," must fail in themselves without an essential re-organisation of the individual character. Insurrection and agitation are in no way constructive, and the weight of the State opposes them—as in the exploits of Te Kooti, and the inflammatory war-time utterances of the prophet Rua. Politics and attempts to achieve racial unity through inter-Maori organisation, especially through parliamentary representation and in the King Movement, have tended to be ineffective before partisanship and ancient differences. True, they have been steps in the right direction, but mere organisation or a network of rights and duties have certainly been insufficient to fire the Maori people to purposeful living.

Again, work-effort to develop Maori lands through competition, emulation, or religious enthusiasm has created feverish activity at times, but as already seen, must have some more permanent stimulus to make it successful before the competition of the *Pakeha*. The writer well remembers giving an address to an audience of business men on the difficulties of the Maori; a lawyer who was in a position to be well-informed through much contact with the race, laid it down, when proposing a vote of thanks, that there was one solution and one only to the Maori problem, that was—"work." All the rest was unimportant beside that. However, we can well sum up our review of the question of work-effort by adapting an old saying to "You can lead a Maori to the job, but you can't make him work." There must be the "will to work," and this depends on psychological factors far deeper in the life of the individual.

Another solution that has been attempted is the accumulation of *Pakeha* knowledge, but the dangers and difficulties of this have already been examined. Again, the spiritual ideals and love-doctrine that are the heart of white religion and culture may redirect the lives of some, but the vast majority can as yet be ignorant of, or indifferent

to, the finer meanings of civilization, even as are so many *Pakeha* folk. These aspects of intellectual and spiritual development within the race do not seem to promise any more immediate basis of permanent general adaptation, even when they come from the Maori themselves, than they do when coming from the external pressure of white influence. In the past and present there have been very many spontaneous experiments based on such interests, usually directed by some very strong personality who has more or less enlightened vision of how to renew his people. Thus the transformation of Parihaka from rebel *pa* to prosperous township, the creation of the "Maori Parliament," the mushroom rise of various "prophets," and the spiritual edification of Ratana's followers. But generally, where there is a "piano in the parlour" there is a "pig in the kitchen."

Summing up, then, all these factors at work in the changing Maoridom, it seems that in none of these things as such are revealed that fundamental and powerful urge, that vital purpose which will replace the ancient driving forces no longer meaningful in the new order, which will give a new sense of the worthwhileness of living, and will stimulate individuals, villages, and tribes to continue the struggle for adaptation. Certainly, some have much to contribute as indispensable material for fashioning the life-structure of a new Maoridom. Also, their working has helped to make possible the prospect of a revitalisation by rallying constructive or defensive factors at historical danger points. But, if this is so, and in the writer's opinion it is so, where then must the student look for any deeper vitalising force, any possible unity in all this diversity?

Already in the survey, it has been emphasised that the great hope of the future lies in the contribution that may be made by the thought-leaders of the Maori race; also that the dominant touch of a strong personality can move the Maori mind and heart profoundly. Given then a group of enlightened men endowed with sufficient *mana*, and consecrating themselves in the service of their people, all things are possible for the future. To-day, there is this growing number of thinkers, many just coming into the prime of adulthood, who have viewed the situation through Maori eyes, and who are seeking to work out

their vision in the life-activities of their people in certain districts of Maoridom. What, then, do they conceive as the solution, as a fundamental basis of re-organisation, as the best ends and means of development? Have they the answer to our problem?

Even though the ideas of these thinkers vary, nevertheless there seems much in common in their conceptions, and this is vitally significant for future progress. Once again the writer at this point must confess his own possible lack of data and of contact with representative natives, also his possible lack of insight and sensitivity to the true meanings. Here, if anywhere, is there need for a thorough research and interchange of opinion in the interests of the racial welfare. However, with this preliminary qualification, some interpretation of these conceptions will be presented.

It would seem that they strike right into the heart of the problem. The first need for a right and happy adjustment of the circumstances of life is a positive and confident attitude, a sense of the worthwhileness of living, all that brings light to the eyes, strength to the limbs, joy to the heart. Therefore, the essential element which must underlie any future uplift of the race, they consider to be the creation of a new Maori *mana,* of a new race-pride and race-consciousness. From self-respect alone can come self-reorganisation. The physical characteristics of the Maori race, its ancient heritage, its present potentialities are such as should cause the Maori to hold high his head and face the world with glowing eyes—the shamed face, the head hung, the averted look are sure signs of decadence. Thus a chief says: " A Native born cannot be anything else but a Native, and that fact cannot be altered, no matter how he adapts himself to European ways. In my opinion, when a Maori attempts to be other than himself, he is lost. So therefore I say this: 'Never forget that you are a Maori!' "

It is usual when considering the most progressive aspects of Maoridom to turn immediately to the experiments of the East Coast peoples, some of which we viewed already, where " they are showing that it is possible, while preserving their pride of race and of ancestral tradition, to develop on certain lines (of farming) on equal terms with their

white neighbours."(2) In these districts better environmental conditions, economic success, work interest, keenness to learn, and obedience to law and moral code have all come as a result of this re-organisation of life as visioned by their great leader. It is significant that population is increasing rapidly in this part of Maoridom. The central secret of this adaptation is found in the above quotation—at last the Maori is proud of himself as a Maori, proud of his racial past, sure of his right and capacity to live. With new hope and purpose, his life begins to count. Also largely within a positive instead of a negative exclusiveness from white contact, the leader is able to select and interpret what his people shall know and enjoy of white culture. This is really the best known of a number of progressive experiments being conducted in various districts and villages.

In what way do these Maori thinkers utilise the ethnic past as a basis for present re-construction? The rise of the Young Maori Party in the 'nineties, was the first practical demonstration of the fact that the result of a truly liberal education among the best of the Maori youth seems to be a freeing of energy which immediately asserts itself in race-pride and individuality. No immediate passive absorption by the white race satisfies them as an end of development. Racial character must be preserved; the Maori has a place in the scheme of things. No wonder then, that to renew pride and purpose among their people, the young leaders seek now to restore the best in their ancestral past: language, lore and history, arts and crafts. Nor is this reassertion of Maori *mana* in any way retrogressive in being retrospective. In the analysis of the present it was shown how much of the ancient culture still survives. The ideal of these thinkers is to reinterpret this evolving culture and any culture-forms they may revive, so as to express a new vision, that it may stimulate the individual, not with the inadequate purposes of primitive times, but with newer and more vital purposes that concern the life of to-day.

They clearly see two qualifications: first, that the ancient culture cannot be restored in any completeness: second, that it is quite insufficient to express the wider meanings of modern life. For much of the ancient activity was quite undesirable as not measuring up to new standards and tastes. Even when these ways were not stamped out

by the missionaries and zealous white reformers, they have tended to be discarded in the continuous modification. Quite rightly they are hardly valuable to-day except for the ethnologist. The white man, also, remembers of the past the gleaming marbles of Greece, the chivalry of Arthur's Court, the gay silks of Elizabeth's reign, and prefers to forget the less worthy aspects of the old days. Much of ancient Maoridom, then, cannot be valued.

But any student of the old life, be he Maori or *Pakeha,* knows the vividness and power of much of the primitive culture. To the Arawa people, the love-epic of Hinemoa and Tutanekai will ever be a source of inspiration for young and old. The poetic conceptions of earth and sky, and of natural phenomena are worthy to be preserved, not with the dread significance of old, but as means of positive aesthetic appreciation. The heroic deeds of great ancestors already idealised, the monotheistic concepts and mystic interpretations of life must enrich the experience of the adult, just as the wonder-tales and simple lore may guide the early purposes of the child. But spontaneity will not come through slavish imitation of ancient songs, posture-dances, arts and crafts, though these may satisfy some. Rather they will be the basis for new and evolved creative forms expressing new aspirations and wider visions, yet characteristically Maori instead of sternly European. Where creativity has tended to disappear in the stress of the transition, this return to simple, rhythmic, well appreciated expression forms would liberate a new spirit that would move the individual not only to a better use of leisure, but also to more purposive activity of work and communal relationships.

> "At eventide again rehearse and tell
> The acts and fame of heroes gone.
> Speak of the days of long, long, past,
> And those who lived in that past age
> Of our great leaders and our ancestry."
>
> —*Ancient Chant.*

Again, the leaders recognise that this culture is but one small part of a great world-culture that has evolved to express the life of the changing races. Yet, in this small part, inadequate and confined as it is, they see the most intimate means of recovering racial pride as a basis

Photo. by Dominion Museum.

THE ART OF WEAVING.

Native women with flax baskets, floor-mats, and waist-mat. In this back-blocks scene the more primitive living conditions are apparent from the *raupo* walls and *punga* posts of the house.

Photo. by "Auckland Weekly News"

ANCIENT SPORTS IN MODERN DAYS.

The war-canoe race is an exciting feature of the Wanganui River regatta. These annual competitions form a splendid stimulus for keeping alive this old-time sport of the river tribes.

for ordering the chaos of transition. The mere fact that the intense Maori-*Pakeha* interaction and the lack of inter-Maori contact, has for a time distorted the sense of proportion, so that things Maori have been undervalued, does not lessen the usefulness of Maori culture to-day. Hence the importance which they attach to their racial heritage.

In developing the ideals of thought-leaders, the writer feels that already some would assent to the theoretical value of all this, yet question whether it is really practicable. The fact is that in more or less degree this retrospection is taking place all over Maoridom.

Thus two significant illustrations of how these ideas are moving the mind of the Maori to-day are afforded by resolutions passed at one of the most important conferences yet held to discuss native affairs, at which representatives from all parts of the Dominion met at the Motuiti *pa* in the Manawatu district over the New Year of 1928. Among the six resolutions passed, including matters relating to land, finance, scholarships, and agricultural instruction, the first and last were:—

> "That this representative gathering of the Maori race records its appreciation and indebtedness to our late illustrious Governor (Sir George Grey) for his thoughtfulness, industry and foresight in compiling, publishing and preserving for posterity the *waiatas*, *pateres*, and *karakias* (songs and chants) which he published under the title of 'Nga Moteatea me nga Hakirara.'"

> "That the revived interest in the collection and annotation of Maori songs, etc., suggests that the time is ripe for some organisation to cover the field. It is recommended that the Maori Purposes and Ethnological Research Boards assist such organisation in a practical way."

A practical demonstration of the need, often subconscious, for such a common ground for inter-Maori relationships and assertion of *mana* is seen in the way that where all else has gone the individual Maori takes refuge in his native language. But far more positive in its effect is the conscious effort made, not only on the East Coast but in other districts, to make the past a living factor to-day. Thus in Waikato, where conditions seem very unfavourable—war memories, confiscation resentments, and an attitude of studied aloofness from white settlements—experiments are being tried by leaders. These Maoris,

race-proud, industrious, and happy in the midst of surrounding disruption, show a practical lesson in co-operative activity. Here the past has been revived and the arts and crafts are flourishing—dancing, song, carving, weaving and the like, following to an extent what is remembered of the ancient forms, though completely free from primitive restraints, and hence expanding to new forms of creation in design, in method and in material. The work of the children in carving, sewing and dressmaking, knitting and weaving, is freely finished with floral and natural designs often in colours, and is really splendid. This liberty of creation is in marked contrast to craftwork done in another village in a district only just emerging from isolation. Here the ancient forms are strictly adhered to and much of the mysticism of the craft still remains to conventionalise self-expression. Such variation must necessarily be maintained for the present, for ideals, standards, and tastes, vary in the diversity. This again brings up the need for a greater interaction between these more or less isolated experiments that out of community and conflict of purposes may be gradually fashioned those finer purposes that may revitalise Maoridom. In this reassertion of the common past, there is a basis for much new inter-Maori relationships, even though no sudden development of racial unity may be expected.

One common bond already referred to as remaining in all this differentiation is that of language. Though it has evolved and in some places it seems in danger of becoming overthrown together with race-pride, it has not yet lost its vitality. Ultimately it will decay, no doubt, just as have Gaelic and Welsh, yet in the present position of the race these leaders see clearly that not only does it form a basis for thus using the old-time culture, but in itself it is the fullest expression of the present state of that culture. Poetic metaphor, ancestral aphorisms, personifications, and the like, still have living meaning alongside the more analytical and abstract terms of English. "The giant *totara* (tree) has fallen," ran the message of the East Coast Maori deploring the death of the late Prime Minister of New Zealand. "The earth has been shaken to its foundations. Farewell, old man! Go to the home of your ancestors and the multitude." And the West Coast

people congratulated his youthful successor thus: "May the young *rata*-tree grow up in the forest beside the mighty one now fallen in the decay of death . . . and stand firm for many years to come before the blast of the great winds, the rushing of waters, and the quiverings of humanity."

In whatever differing ways then the leaders may restore the ancient culture to express their new purposes and ideals, at least there is this common bond of language. To-day there is practically no permanent way of preserving ideas and creation-forms within the tribes, and these are lost, where they might be valuable contributions to the Maori people as a whole. It is not inconceivable that quite a splendid literature and art might arise if only there was opportunity for recording the self-expression that may increase if the negative stress of the transition comes to be lessened.*

Again, some say this may all be too idealistic. The tribes can never come together. How can Ngapuhi listen to the aspirations of Arawa, and so on? True, at present, hereditary enemies may well scorn or be roused to anger by each other's conceptions, especially if they should revive historical or traditional memories. But under the careful direction of wise leaders, and with *Pakeha* help, this could well be avoided until such tribal history and differences lose their negative significance with new social and moral development.

Summing up: it is apparent that these thinkers have had a personal experience through their own contact with civilization, and have personal knowledge of the problems of Maoridom. This seems to be the basis of any solutions they would offer: namely, a revival of Maori

*Since recording this, three years ago, the writer has noted a new stirring along literary lines, under the stimulus of the much-referred-to leaders. The Maori language has been adopted in 1928 as a subject for the Arts Degree of the University of New Zealand. The available prose and poetic literature is being brought to light, corrected, and annotated, especially with the practical help of the Maori Research Board, and is proving to be far larger in quantity than most students suspected. A great service is being rendered also by the little Maori magazine published under Anglican auspices and named *Te Toa Takitini*. Included recently in this has been a translation into Maori in serial form of Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice"—a good example of the urge to write among the younger Maoris.

mana founded on an idealised past, and giving a spirit and driving force which will make life purposive and free. The average Maori life is overwhelmingly negative, and assertion tends to be meagre and distorted. Most of the forces, external and internal, are only repressing life more. *Pakeha mana* is as yet essentially contractive. They see for their people this great way out, whether they be crushed in the fullest struggle of interaction, have retreated behind negative barriers, or still are too isolated for free contact: first, a temporary exclusiveness to all but constructive forces; then a reorganisation of purpose and experience by assertion through a living past and present; finally, a healthy and confident interaction with both *Pakeha* and fellow Maori.

What then is the education they would seek to give to these two crucial generations now to arise? Naturally they look first to the Maori home, the Maori mother, and the community environment. The child will be brought up to know and appreciate all that is best in the past. At least he will know his native tongue, and where such are remembered or restored, the lore and history, arts and crafts. Through these idealised forms and suitable *Pakeha*-expression forms the simple virtues will come to have meaning. The child will also grow up to know the tribal purposes, which, being Maori, are to him worthwhile. As conceived by the leaders, these seem to be agriculture and utilisation of ancestral lands, better health, better education, better tribal and inter-tribal relationships, better evaluation of *Pakeha* culture and the like. Here State, School, and Church can co-operate with them to forward the education of the growing generations. Otherwise their influence in the Maori community is to many leaders, superfluous, even if largely inevitable; but so far as external forces are in the visioned line of development, they are welcomed heartily.

Thus behind certain barriers, mainly psychological, generally appointed by the leader, the growing generations would stabilise their experience, and come to know the values and purposes of life without having to fight the less subtle battles of the transition which have brought downfall to preceding generations. And in the minds of these leaders there is a vision of a future for the Maori,

where racial unity, *kotahitanga,* will be achieved, where Maori-*Pakeha* and inter-Maori relationships will be positive and free; where the problems of distance will be overcome, and the Maori people will have made some definite contribution to the race-consciousness of the world.

Such is a very brief statement of the general conception of development which, in the writer's judgment, is held by many enlightened Maori thinkers for their race. Not that the Maori ideals here viewed are necessarily fully right and practicable. Also different leaders stress varying aspects of them according to district conditions and problems. No one man has the full vision; no one village the true practical demonstration; no one tribe the final achievement.

So far this growing expression of vitality in Maoridom has been treated as a "moving spirit," an individual attitude of enlightenment. Out of the chaos and stress of transition which has been viewed there is coming this stir of new hope, new belief in Maori worth, new desire to re-capture the adventurous outlook of great ancestors and apply it to the problems of to-day.

Yet not only is this a "moving spirit" within the minds and hearts of the leaders. As well it is making a constant practical impact upon every aspect of Maori life to-day. Wherever throughout the survey of the Present there has been traced any forward move—in matters of health, land, work, culture sport, social relationships—it can be attributed to this new spirit. The first really conscious and organised attempt to deal with Maori problems by the Maoris themselves was made by the Te Aute Students' Association, which later widened into the Young Maori Party already referred to. Fired by their academic discussions, numbers of young men went back to their villages and districts seeking to make visions into reality. One "pulled down the meeting-house with a chain and team of horses," to get his people to live in less crowded and healthier fashion. Several entered the medical and legal professions, some of these later turning to politics; or became native ministers of the Church. Others took positions of leadership, as opportunity offered, within their tribes and villages, seeking, in spite of all difficulties, to help their people. As one expresses it: "At first we could

only put a touch of paint here and there wherever the elders would allow; as these elders passed away or sentiment was changed we have been able more and more to paint the whole structure." However, the Young Maori Party as an organisation became dormant a number of years ago, since its aims had become increasingly realised, and as the members found their own energies bound up with local and individual problems.

When, therefore, in 1925 this manuscript was first drafted, the writer was led to remark concerning this "moving spirit" and these local advances in relation to the Future: "All these experiments are but as flickering lights upon a chaotic darkness." Weighed against the instability and disruption, the grim realities of circumstance that oppressed most areas of Maoridom, they seemed potential rather than actual. Especially on the West Coast, through Waikato, King Country, Taranaki, Whanganui, Manawatu, did the historical grievances, the tribal spirit of aloofness, and a multitude of sayings and prophecies tend to inhibit free self-expression.

Yet in these last few years there has come about a remarkable strengthening and organising over Maoridom of both spirit and its application—enough to make the writer feel that this sentence recorded should at least be modified, if not deleted. Our survey will, therefore, not be complete without at least some reference to this new stirring, the beginning of a movement which, building on the foundations laid by the Young Maori Party, promises to challenge the "youth" of the Maori race to achievement at which as yet we can merely guess.

Where up till very recently the ideals attributed to enlightened leaders seemed scattered, little related, timid, in many cases, even inarticulate, they are now being caught up into organisation and unity—and becoming even clearer in the process. We have seen how diplomacy, politics, and the like failed to bring Maori and *Pakeha* and Maori and Maori together. To-day the main stimulus, other than education, is, significantly enough, sport.

"Rugby football was invented for the Maori race," said a Maori to the writer; "and," he added, "we are coming to think the same of tennis." The fact that some

of the finest representative footballers New Zealand has produced have been Maoris, and representative teams from the native race itself have been chosen to tour the Dominion and overseas, has stirred Maori pride and community almost as never before around any interest, also has aroused white interest in Maori matters. The writer attended recently a football match where one team was all-Maori, gathered together from many districts, and their opponents a provincial fifteen of whom some eight were of native blood —cheering them from the line were some twenty thousand *pakeha* spectators! There is now a football cup, presented by the Prince of Wales for competition within Maoridom, and this should be a potent source of goodwill and contact between sections of the race, up till now isolated, even inimical.

Perhaps even more than football is tennis becoming a rallying-point for the new spirit. At the annual Maori Tennis Tournament are assembled for a week many of the picked young men and women of the various tribes; also, each tournament is now made the excuse and opportunity for a most businesslike conference of delegates to interchange ideas, and seek to re-think the whole position of the race. Both Wanganui (1927) and Hastings (1928) Tournaments were historic for this reason.

Other unique meetings where tribal representatives have met together under the impetus of the new movement have been a gathering to unveil a memorial to a Maori minister at Motuiti, in the Manawatu district, at the end of 1927, and the conferences to settle on "consolidation" schemes held at the Bay of Islands and Te Kuiti in 1928—these, apparently, merely the experimental forerunners of many more such inter-tribal gatherings. The full significance of these meetings can hardly be estimated, for they represent an entirely new coming together of East and West, North and South of Maoridom, "the historical renewal of ancient racial connections." From them are coming fine inter-tribal friendships, an increasing interest and appreciation of Maori worth by Europeans, and especially various organisations: Maori Associations in various centres, Sport Councils, and so on. This whole movement may well be termed a "renewal of Youth," though, just as with other Youth Movements in the world

to-day, many of the "youngest" in spirit are old chronologically; so, too, are many young people "older" in their outlook, to-day, and more conservative than their elders.

Thus we see in this present generation of Maoridom a new vitality finding expression, that is actually commencing to break down exclusiveness and ill-feeling between the various units of Maoridom and between the two races; also it is causing a drastic revision of current opinion concerning Maori character; his capacity to be educated and to "stick it," and his divisions and weaknesses generally. It has been summed up by one of its keenest movers in these words: "The spirit of the new movement is intensely Maori, even though externally it is adopting a *pakeha* guise and outlook."

In the light of these facts the writer dare not take up a pessimistic attitude concerning the future. Well indeed may those who have spent a life-time among dying villages see but grim realities ahead of the eager-faced boys and girls that frolic around school-ground and meeting-house. But to the student of to-day, viewing all present trouble and promise of further trouble, there is surely large hope of reconstruction, provided aims are clearly visioned and the problems are courageously attacked. There can be expected, of course, no sudden general rise of enlightenment, yet the pick of the youth can be challenged to make their lives count to the full, and finest opportunity given through both *pakeha* and Maori agencies for development and self-expression. And these will be potential leaders among their fellows, to lift them out of the more disastrous conditions of the present environment toward that practical ideal for future Maori life which may be visioned as Maori and *Pakeha* and the Maoris themselves come together with sympathy and understanding.

II.

THE FUTURE TASK.

"They are not lost
Nor can annihilation
Blight them all.
As noble war canoe
Though broken; partly wrecked
Can be renewed,
So, O my people, rise!"—*Maori Chant.*

"*Kua kaupapa i au te aroha; ma koutou e whakaoti.*"
"I have laid the foundations of friendship (between Maori and *Pakeha*) for your consummation."
—*Last words of Peeti te Awe Awe, chief of Rangitane.*

THE primary purpose of our survey has already been achieved, namely, that of revealing, so far as the writer has been able, the crucial nature of the present position of the Maori race.

It has been sought to bring to light the dark and difficult pathways of transition and the problems of racial contact and conflict; to show that the Destiny which controls the waxing and waning of races is no inscrutable and inevitable mystery, but may be understood in great measure, and certainly controlled if ends and means of development are clearly visioned. Especially would the writer emphasise that the problems are not merely the distant concern of the Government, of paid officials, of native school-teachers, and of mission workers. Rather they are living issues that concern every white person that has any contact whatever with the race, or even in the remotest measure has a part in defining public opinion concerning the Maori. In the end, their solution must always be a matter of individual relationships and attitudes, rather than general policies and programmes. The contempt or respect of each *Pakeha*, his race-aloofness, superiority, especially indifference, or his friendliness, sympathy, and practical help are important factors in the drama of Maoridom. The Maori stands or falls by the attitude of every New Zealander.

However, there are certain practical lines of possible future effort to help the race in their adaptation to the new order, that have been driven home to the writer in the study of the problem, and which may well be noted before closing the survey.

The fact has been stressed that there is urgent need for further study of Maoridom from all points of view, and by people of all interests. Probably one of the main reasons why few students have so far given time to native problems is that the facilities for research along such lines in the University Colleges of the Dominion are so inadequate. As well as the departments of Education and Economics, there should certainly be, in one at least of the North Island Colleges, departments of Ethnology and of Social Science, and all these should have means to carry out research. Among the students who would be attracted thus, some would certainly enter the Maori field.

The writer even dares to hope that some day there will be a central Educational Institute or College, probably best attached to the Auckland University College and financed from both native and *pakeha* sources, which would devote its effort to practical study and the training of workers over Maoridom and also possibly over the native races in the Island Dependencies of the Dominion. As visioned, it would be able to keep in touch with the whole field of Maoridom, and, as a practical laboratory in which members of both races could work, would be able to guide and co-ordinate the constructive movements, external and internal, affecting the native people. Here research students could work on problems ethnological, sociological, economic, hygienic and educational. The unrivalled collection of Maori artifacts and relics that can be studied in the new Memorial Museum; the very complete records of New Zealand's history in the libraries, as for instance the Grey Collection; the University Professorial Staff and members of the Auckland Institute and Akarana Maori Association; and the Maori settlements and tribes North and South; all these make the northern city the strategic point for such an institution. The finest of the Maori youth could come to it for training. Literature, both English and Maori, could be prepared and published. By such means the keenest

minds in the young country would be focussed upon the difficulties. The central Education Department would have a training ground for its teachers. The needs of the Maori could be brought clearly before the white man, and all that is best in civilization could be put before the Maori. There are endless possibilities in such an institution, and within a few years from its establishment it would, in the writer's opinion, do more to solve the problems of the race than many years of dangerous and indefinite striving by reformers, *Pakeha* and Maori, as at present. Surely the study of the Maori must be as vital as the study of agriculture, or engineering, which are causing much stir in education to-day.

From such an institute could go out lecturers and demonstrators, organised, say, as a Maori Educational Association, bringing to home and meeting-house, to child and adult, to the town-dwellers and the mysterious Children of the Mist alike, a truer, wider, simpler message of enlightenment. The *mana* of such a *Pakeha*-Maori institution would be tremendous in Maori eyes. To-day the educated natives return to the *pa* aimlessly superior, or where really keen are unable often to give their message owing to lack of *mana*. Backed by such an organisation, they would not only have a more definite vision, but would have authority other than that of their own personality among their people. Also the white men who labour for State, Church, and School, would not only come to be better fitted for their task, but would have *mana* above that of every nondescript who is able to sway Maori opinion to-day, whether religious crank, liquor-runner, or unscrupulous adventurer.

This brings up a further point that may well be mentioned, namely that of the tremendous responsibility that devolves upon those white people who, as Government officials, teachers, and churchmen, are the representatives of civilization to the Maori. The writer has before him the English official regulations governing the filling of administrative and educational positions in the various Empire Colonial Services—first India, then Africa, the East, and various smaller fields. It would no doubt amaze the average colonial to find the extreme difficulty of entering these posts which give whites authority over the native

peoples of the Empire; this owing to the extraordinarily high educational and personal qualifications demanded. An Honours degree in a British University followed by intensive training in the cultural background, especially the language of the people, is the usual preliminary demanded. Only the very finest type of British manhood is utilised, for it is realised that the individual administrator or teacher is going to represent the whole of civilization in the eyes of those he is placed over. He represents the King, Nation, and culture, and by him will they be judged. Without casting any reflection upon the present officials engaged in native work, it is a point that should be considered always by those who have the task of appointing administrators and teachers. Also it applies to the various Christian organisations who send out men and women to work within the race. It would seem that the problems are so delicate that one *pakeha* blunderer can do more damage than ten right workers can make good. Therefore the finest available persons should be challenged to work in Maoridom and the posts should be made big and responsible enough to hold them. To those who may question the willingness of men and women with highest qualifications of culture and personality to isolate themselves among the Maori folk, it will be sufficient to say that there are long waiting lists of the finest youth of Britain desirous of tackling jobs among the lowest of native races in the most isolated and impossible places for white men to live on the earth's surface. The writer feels sure that there are many who would be willing to enter into training for work among the Maori race and other native races under the jurisdiction of the Dominion.

However, there are other immediate practical ways in which Maoridom can be influenced. The first vital point of re-organisation is the Maori home. "Questions of land and of title, of technical schools, and of special native settlements are insignificant compared with the social life of the natives, and those who will help in the regeneration of the Maori will need to begin at the home and with the womenkind." (23) How can the ideals, purposes, and tastes be directed to worthier levels? Some of the troubles shown were bi-lingual difficulties, suspicion, hopelessness, contempt for things Maori. The great stimulus can be the

Photo. by Miss M. Martin.

A CREATIVE ARCHITECTURE.

A home at Waititi, Rotorua, which is an excellent example of creative design combining old and new. The village meeting-house is in the background.

Photo. by "Auckland Weekly News."

MOTHERS OF TO-MORROW.

Some of the rising generation of the Urewera Country.

leader's re-interpretation of the meaning of life. There are many ways in which *pakeha* organisations can aid the leader more directly, or where there is no leader can influence home life.

One that appeals much to the writer is some sort of Home and Village Library system, not at first in any elaborate form but rather aiming at quality. To-day there is practically no literature really suited to Maori needs, and little record of creative efforts in adaptation. The first book that might be put on the village, and if possible the home shelf, would deal with the finest elements of ancient poetry, lore, mythology, and the like, simply written, preferably printed in both languages and carefully illustrated. Such a book or books would be eagerly read by old and young, and would tend to awake pride, positive appreciation, and further interest, just as the leaders seek to do. Further, literature or pamphlets (replacing dull formal instructions that are too often uninteresting and ineffective), would give information on such subjects as health-habits, nursing, domestic duties, and agriculture; all well illustrated, preferably with comparative scenes. Let Maniapoto see how Kahungunu lives; let Tuhoe housewife visit pictorially the kitchens of Taranaki; let Maori farmer see how the Danish herds, the Canadian harvests, and the Australian flocks are managed. Again, it has been stated that the Bible as formally translated is practically the only literature in Maori at present available for reading, and doubt has been expressed as to how far it is really understood. Could not some simple Biblical incidents and lessons, or practical life situations as they affect Maori conduct be written, especially for the children? The Church could well develop this idea of a simple moral literature to convey its message. Another most valuable type of reading which should be open to the Maori and by no means confined to formal school lessons, is the history of man's development in its wide phases: beginnings, the meaning of social relationships, the great arts and philosophies, the purposes of living, the growth and inner meaning of the white man's civilization, a simple unbiassed history of New Zealand, and the like.

The writer feels that such apparently simple means of touching directly the isolated Maori home and tribe, and

hence the early environment of the children, would be very valuable. There is little need to say that the most competent students available should be commissioned to write, translate, and illustrate these. Nor would there be anxiety as to whether such literature, and perhaps a little later a creative Maori literature and art, would be welcomed by the Maori people.

Concerning the general relationships of school to home, there is serious need for examination. For no mere domestic classes, conducted arbitrarily in a refined school atmosphere, or more especially the beginnings of handwork taught in the primary schools, will necessarily uplift the home standards, as they are passed down in the environment of the average native *pa*. Much more vital to the child are the activities within the home, mat-weaving and basket-making, cooking in a *kopa Maori,* and so on. Also the counting and accurate placing of the flax strands, the quantities of food needed, and the song and dance of the evening fire, all thought out in Maori, are far more effective experiences than mechanical arithmetic tables and problems, and the half-comprehended songs and notations that come in strangely-clipped English from the school benches. Any strict line drawn between home activities and school activities certainly tends to make the latter artificial, separated from life-experience, and disruptive to the interests and purposes of the home environment. The school must answer the question as to whether this can safely be maintained, whether the acquisition of facts and mechanical habituations can make a *Pakeha* out of a native still living in an environment little evolved from that of primitive man. To some this is merely a bogey. "Look at that!" they say, pointing to the Proficiency list, to the attendance record, to the actual work produced in the schools. But an analysis of the extent to which these children can think, or have assimilated the facts in a real life re-organisation, or can use them if so assimilated, makes the writer extremely doubtful of the wisdom of such schooling. The real experiences of life are concerned with things outside the school, and in this learning, the individual is little helped to evaluate these activities and interests. Only greater conflict is caused.

What, surely, is needed, then, is not the superimposition of a highly-organised culture from above, but an adaptation from the more primitive forms to the enlarging environment. This is exactly the purpose of the leader who seeks to lay a basis for life's structure upon Maori *mana*. The questions to be faced by the authorities are: whether the native school system is going to be fitted to the child, or the child to the system; whether teachers are to mould the child to their views, or whether the teacher will be fitted to understand the views of the child; whether the child will be governed by the curriculum or the curriculum by the child's needs.

These fragmentary ideas could well be further developed in relation to much modern educational theory and practice, but again space will not allow this. Thus the researches of " Culture-Epoch Theorists " become especially real in Maori education, and the cry for Freedom applies vividly to the brown-eyed bush children pent up in regulation desks for five hours a day.

But all this implies ideal organisation and administration—quite impracticable at present, as all would say. Nevertheless, it will be a happy day when the Central Department does further practical experimentation among native children. When a school inspector addressed the Native School Teachers' Association recently upon the progressive movements in England that might well be extended to native schools, the practical difficulties immediately became apparent: lack of libraries and accommodation, syllabus troubles, rigidity of regulations, inspections and attendance results affecting salaries, and, looming spectre-like over all, work progress and examination attainment demanded at the end of the year. Many of the teachers clearly see the point where schoolwork fails, and are seeking to widen their community interests to guide the people and influence the homes in their villages. The Maoris themselves, too, realise the weight of the departmental regulations and the limitations imposed upon teachers. A native leader sums up the educational problem thus: " We want to stress education. The trouble with the Department is that they have old, musty files containing records of past administration. We do not want to hear what has been done in the past. It is the future that counts! "

Again the writer would emphasise the importance of scientific study concerning native school problems. Already the Department is branching out to experiment in other fields of education. Yet the examination of school buildings and organisation and method is surely not so pressing as this practical problem of human possibilities and welfare. Not only could experimentation, for instance, the establishment of some laboratory schools, be of inestimable value to the Maori people themselves, but, in considering the unique position of the race, living among a white race, their results would be of great value in the whole educational world, faced to-day, as it is, with many problems of racial adaptation and education. There are many experienced educators and practical teachers who could be entrusted with sufficient freedom to conduct such laboratory schools without always being answerable to pedagogues of the old type, who may make a fetish of the present curriculum. It would justify any slight expenditure that might be incurred to thus convert, say, three schools representative of transition phases. The writer would suggest that one should be in the Urewera Country (in practical isolation), a second in Hawke's Bay or North Auckland (where there is considerable contact), and a third a mixed school, fairly evenly divided, in a district, say, such as the Waikato, where direct interaction is taking place. These schools could take into account the home environment, the valued interests of community and tribe and the aims of leaders, and seek to re-organise the experience of the growing children, not only to conquer their present environment, but also to reach out and evaluate the finer meanings of white culture. These would necessarily be only imperfect beginnings, yet they would furnish specialists with a keener understanding of the Maori child, and the results which they would reach could well be diffused through the whole school system—organisation, curriculum, text books, material, and so on. Again is seen the degree to which the future of the race depends upon the vision and elasticity of the Department. The line of least resistance is, of course, the easier way, where present opinions differ seriously concerning aims and efficiency, and where matters of finance, standardisation, and effective control enter in. Yet the problem of the

school is there, a vital factor in the wider problems of home and community.

Concerning the contribution of the Church to the new Maoridom, it must be remembered that the Mission Schools have an important opportunity to experiment in native education, especially so as the children are generally taken out of their home environment, and their whole development is under control from early years. As seen, both Church and State are needing more and more a basis of individual enlightenment to be effective. So far the religious experience of the Maori has been based largely upon mystical domination, but *tapu*-s old and new are failing rapidly to grip a more sophisticated generation. The need for some spiritual dynamic which will unify and energise the material-intellectual advance of Maoridom is keenly apparent in the present, whether this is to come through the influence of enlightened leaders or through a personal reorganisation of life. It must be a message of hope and purpose and right relationships for this present existence, rather than a promise for the hereafter. For even more earnestly than the *Pakeha*, the Maori tends, as we have seen, to separate belief from practice and become lost in doctrinal quarrels, sectarian rivalries, wonder-working and intellectual interpretations. Truly the Church must do some self-examination before the message it would give can ring true to the rising generation of Maori. Certainly, it can no longer afford to be lined up with every charlatan who can rouse fear and wonder.

The writer has seriously considered the responsibility of religious bodies to the race in the present crisis, and the need seems to be not more organisation, more teaching, more spiritual safeguards, but a keener denominational interaction fostered by the mission bodies, less dogmatic interpretation of the abiding facts of religion, and especially more practical demonstration of their meaning in life experience. Without doubt the church exercised far more influence in times when its message was direct and unified, but the complexities of to-day have overwhelmed that simpler faith and trust. The *mana* of the historical churches seems in danger of waning as domination fails to hold either the thinking or the careless individual. Lip-service, misunderstanding, formalism, are tending to create

a pharisaic attitude in religious experience, and the critical younger generation see this both in their own people and in the worship of the *Pakeha*. The only solution for the church can be a return to the deeper spiritual principles and a reaffirmation of the worth of winning the individual. It must bring to the Maori home and community, through its own corporate life and the example of its leaders, a message of good-will, co-operation, practical conduct, especially of hopefulness, not so much for future reward as for present possibility. It must emphasise no dogma or difference that may obscure the practical implications of religion in life-experience. Certain religious bodies are wise to delegate authority to the Maori people wherever possible, and still more to enlist young thought-leaders to interpret the message to their people. It is well for the Church to take pains not to load them with theology and doctrine, but to show them the true meaning of service, sacrifice, discipleship, that their message may be one of practical living. For, after all, "love God, love thy neighbour," is surely the final solution of all Maori problems, and advance cannot be made until everything irrelevant to these is courageously swept aside—whether coming from survival of Maori superstition, or from the historic organisation of *pakeha* religion. In this way alone can the Church contribute to the spiritual growth of Maoridom, and regain *mana* in Maori eyes. The writer recollects vividly the wonder expressed by a Maori minister and a theological student present for the first time at a Student Movement Conference, where men and women of several races and different denominations met for a week's practical demonstration of the "life of the Spirit" in work, play, and study. "We never imagined anything like this," one said. "You have given us a wonderful vision of what could well be within our own people!"

A final word must be said with regard to the influence of the State in its future impact upon the race. Apart from its direct contribution through the schools and the native representatives in both Houses of Parliament, it would be well for the Government to examine thoroughly and seriously its impact upon, and where necessary to re-direct its control over, the race to-day through its organisation, in relation to conscious ends of development.

It must necessarily be long before the mass of the Maori people, provided they survive, assume full rights of citizenship as a result of a growing social consciousness. So that the influence of the State must continue to be largely negative and impersonal. Meanwhile the authorities are wise to delegate responsibility as far as possible upon the natives, though the need is stressed for extreme care that responsibility is placed upon those who really can vision the disabilities and possibilities of the present. "The Maori wants responsibility, and the moment he feels responsibility upon him there will be hope for his continuance as a living and progressive factor in the community." (23) Further, the State can invest with its *mana* all constructive and co-ordinating efforts within the race, and especially aid research into ends and means of development—this not merely owing to a distant promise made to some chiefs at Waitangi, but in a definite attempt to enable the Maori to make the finest possible contribution to the future of the Dominion. Again, the writer would point out the tremendous importance which such an Institute as was suggested would have in solving the problems of Maoridom. Considering the complexities of Government contact with the native race to-day, it would probably be the best possible investment the State could make in its concern with the welfare of the Maori.

Lastly, there is one very practical feature of the influence of the State which may well be emphasised strongly. The Maori people look to the leaders of the State rather than to the State as an institution. It is well, therefore, that the *pakeha* leaders should make no promises that are not backed up by action, should avoid all chance of alienating the Maori people by good intentions unfulfilled. The record of past administration is only too blackened by such failures, and the resulting grievances, suspicions, lack of confidence, have been seen. Such projects as the re-modelling of the Rotorua Villages, the School of Arts and Crafts, the Confiscation Grievances Commission, the consolidation of Native Lands and setting of titles on a satisfactory basis, and the like must be thoroughly worked out. Only too often the Maori leaders consider that seeking aid from the Government is merely "gashing our heads against a stone," is like trying to "move a mountain."

In thus discussing the impact of these *pakeha* institutions upon Maoridom the writer has sought in no way to be over-critical and condemnatory of present-day efforts. The fullest attempt has been made to show the extreme difficulties facing State, School, and Church in their contact with the race, as well as the work at present being done, and their potential influence for the future. Anybody who has studied, say, the history of interaction between the red men and white in the Americas, black men and white in Africa, or, nearer still, between brown men and white in various Pacific Islands, cannot but have a real sense of pride at the attitude of goodwill and sympathy of *pakeha* leaders and institutions toward the Maori. Nevertheless, the problems are there, if not the full understanding of them, and whatever is done in these crucial generations will certainly decide the destiny of the race. Posterity will judge the present generation of the *Pakeha* as preservers or destroyers of the Maori under its civilized care, according to what that destiny will be.

The ultimate issue, however, does not lie with the efforts of organisations or paid officials. Rather, as already stated, it is essentially a personal matter for the individual *Pakeha,* and more especially the cultured *Pakeha.* One of the most significant facts that has been delved out of the mass of problems is contained in a remark made to the writer by a woman of high *mana,* which can well bear re-quoting: " My people never know your best people." It is true that the average Maori has little contact with the educated white man. Yet in the ultimate, the social distance and the barriers of race can only be reduced through intimate associations, personal intercourse, friendships. " Whenever representatives of different races meet and discover in one another—beneath the differences of race—sentiments, tastes, interests, and human qualities generally that they can understand and respect, racial barriers are undermined and eventually broken down. Personal relations and personal friendships are the great moral solvents—there is no way of preserving existing social barriers, except by preserving the existing animosities that buttress them." (21)

In the light of this quotation it will be seen that the greatest destroying force of the present is indifference and

lack of interest in the Maori race by the individual *Pakeha.* To the writer it seems wrong that men and women should be looking far overseas to talk peace, international brotherhood, mission responsibility, uplift for weaker races, quite heedless of the urgent need and wonderful possibility of the Maori race at home. Colour discrimination, impersonal interest, benign irresponsibility, are alienating and crushing to despair the once-proud Maori, about whose past achievements and culture New Zealanders never cease to talk to visitors, and demonstrate on postcards, in museums, and with fluent pen. The Maori of yesterday is our glory; we forget or turn aside from the Maori of to-day! Let a Maori speak of his position: " We cannot return to the past, that is fenced off. Ahead in the future stands the *Pakeha,* behind his *pare pare* (breastwork) of race pride, from which he beckons—merely beckons, mind you—come up! We make a feeble attempt to reach him; when lo, he has retreated to another, and so it continues. And before we can mount all his breastworks, we shall be dead!—we grope, we put out our hands in the darkness—ha! we touch something. We stop and listen: does it breathe? No; that is well. Then we grope further, and so on to the end. Never sure, never certain, but what our touch may send us back in terror to seek light elsewhere. We are *mokarikari* (playthings) of the gods! " (12)

Will this " no man's land," this " valley of the shadow," with its obstructions, entanglements, dangers, difficulties, pitfalls, side-tracks, ever be explored, ever be crossed in safety by the majority of the race? The writer has felt intensely, in preparing this survey, a sense of exploration. The fact has been emphasised that practically no study of the paths of transition has yet been made; few survey pegs and signposts are available. True, the Maori has sought to blunder through from his side, driven by a frantic urge to survive. The results have been seen only too clearly. Few there have been who have won into the light of civilization. Again, from the security of the higher levels of culture, the *Pakeha* has sent back a few—very few—representatives, who, as we have seen, have for the most part stood on the farther edge and called out, " Hurry up! The quicker you're here, the safer you'll be! " Little attempt has been made or encouragement given to turn

the floodlights of knowledge into the darkness; little effort to equip and send forth torch-bearers, both *Pakeha* and Maori, over the trails.

Such is the Past and Present—the Future is in the balance. The Maori, as a race, may or may not pass away. *Mana Maori* may or may not suffer eclipse.

Which ever is to be the way of future change, the stage is set for the climax of our racial drama. The present need is not for any sensational denouement, any revolutionary upheaval of the forces of to-day. There can be no extraordinary physical, intellectual, ethical, or social development that will lift the Maori people to become giants, philosophers, saints, or citizens. Rather, if the Maori is to survive, there must be a steady and purposive re-organisation and co-ordination of the forces, both white and Maori, working within the race, this in relation to some conscious end of development. The task is, not only to prevent further degeneracy, disruption, and suffering in this present generation, but also to ensure that the rising generations of Maoridom may find a measure of happiness and usefulness, may find a way of living and a justification for living in the swiftly-changing world civilization.

"*Ka kite koe*
I nga tai whakamanamana
Te toa haere ana."

"Dost thou not see,
Like the triumphant waves of Ocean,
The people marching forward!"

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